1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

generic resemblance throughout, while Period I pottery is much closer to the fine orange wares of Puebla which were traded widely throughout southeastern Mexico. There is also a trade connection between Aztec I and Mazapan." (See Plates 25, 29.)

In the history of Culhuácan digested on pp. 72–73 the fact was noted that there was first a Toltec dynasty, which was succeeded by a Chichimec or foreign regime. It may not be stretching the manipulations of the historian too far if we suggest that the Culhuas changed their culture with their dynasty. Coyotlatelco ceramics, which have vague affiliations with Teotihuacan pottery, may represent the material culture of the Toltec dynasty, while the Aztec I pottery, completely alien to the preceding styles, seems to embody the material presence of the new regime.

Seeming confirmation of this situation comes from the site of Tenayuca, where great Mexican archaeologists like the late José Reygadas Vertiz, Ignacio Marquina, Alfonso Caso, Eduardo Noguera and others have carried out a superb dissection of one of the temples. It was completely rebuilt five, or possibly six, times. The renovation answered the ceremonial requirement of rebuilding and refurnishing at the beginning of each fifty-two-year cycle in compensation for the destruction at the close of the previously elapsed period. As the site was occupied during the Conquest, the reconstructions probably followed the cyclical ceremonies of 1507, 1455, 1403, 1351 and 1299, with the first building erected some time earlier. The fourth, fifth and sixth constructions (1403, 1455, 1507) are purely Aztec; the third temple built (1351) is a transition between the Aztec style and the simpler, more archaic methods employed in the two earliest

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A 172 346 structures (1299 and the original temple). The three completely developed Aztec temples correspond closely to the distribution of Aztec III and IV pottery, between 1403 and 1519. The transitional temple and the second building suggest that cyclical renovations were adopted everywhere along with the Aztec II pottery of the fourteenth century. The original platform of this Tenayuca temple could have been constructed almost any time in the thirteenth century, since the building of a shrine did not entail the celebration of the beginning of a fifty-two-year cycle.[19] (See Plates 25; 26, bottom; 29.)

A 174 The Aztec civilization was brought into the valley at Culhuacan, where it gradually supplanted the defined local cultures. Where, then, was its true source? The most probable answer is Cholula, in the state of Puebla, where still exists the largest structure in the world in terms of cubic content. The devoted group of Mexican archaeologists, whose co-ordinated efforts have organized the rich background of their Indian past, have been analyzing this monument by excavation and archival research for many years. The results are important. (See Plate 26, top, middle.)

P 174 346 Originally Cholula was occupied by an Upper Middle Culture tribe which later fell under the domination of Teotihuacan-Toltec civilization. At this time the inhabitants built a large ceremonial precinct, a maze of temples, platforms and stairs, constructed of rubble covered with plaster. Eventually newcomers, possibly with the aid of the resident population, performed the stupendous task of converting the Toltec precinct into a single great platform, traditionally in honor of the god Quetzalcoatl. This mammoth construction entailed filling in every building and courtyard with

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PLATE 29

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF AZTEC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

TOP ROW: Excerpts from historical picture manuscripts. 1. Arrival of the nations, in 1300, who brought a knowledge of writing (Mapa Quinatzin); 2. New Fire Ceremony of 1403; 3. New Fire Ceremony of 1455; 4. New Fire Ceremony of 1507 (2–4 from Codex Tellerisno-Remensis); 5. The capture of Tenochtitlan in 1519 (Codex of 1576). SECOND ROW: Last three constructions at Tenayuca, corresponding perhaps to the cyclical renovations of 1403, 1455 and 1507. THIRD ROW: *First three*, Aztec pottery, Types II, IIIa, IIIb, found respectively in the cyclical dumps for 1403, 1455, 1507, and a *fourth* type, IV, made from 1507 through the Spanish Conquest of 1520–21. FOURTH ROW: *First two*, Aztec figurines made prior to 1403. *Last four*, made between 1403 and the Conquest, representing Xochiquetzal, Xipe, Xochipilli and Tonantzin respectively.

[p. 96(A)]

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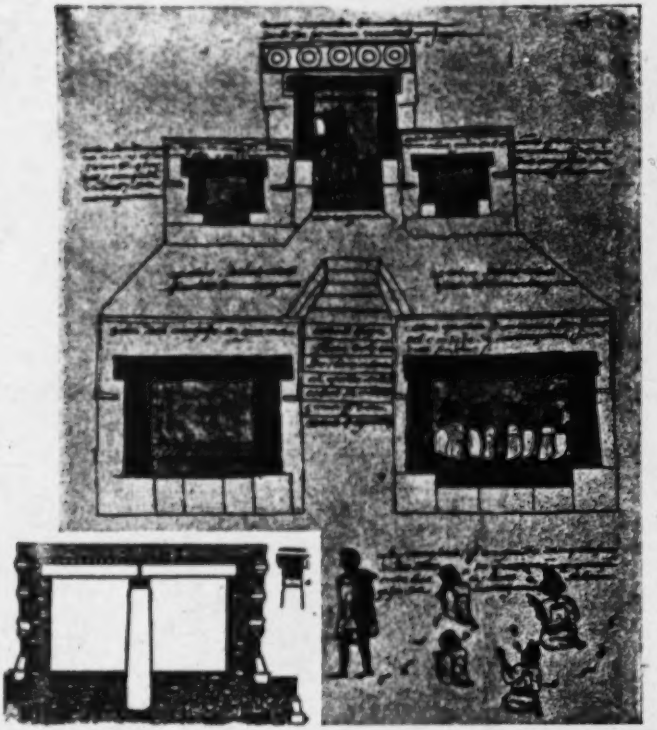

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PLATE 41

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

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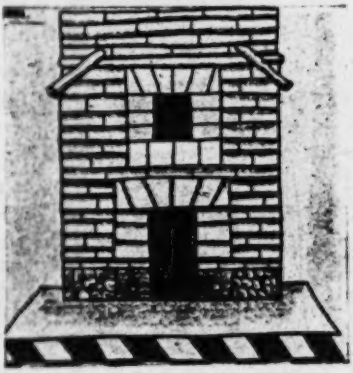
TOP: Montezuma's palace, from the Codex Mendoza. His apartments are on a platform reached by a stair. At right and left are rooms for allied chiefs, such as the rulers of Texcoco, Culhuacan, Chiconauhtla, Tlacopan and Tenayuca. The left-hand room on the first floor is reserved for the war council and the quarters at the right are for the judges, who may be seen settling a case between several litigants. MIDDLE: *Left:* Section through a temple at Mitla showing details of Aztec construction. BOTTOM: A two-story house of probable post-Conquest date. The palace above with ascending platforms shows the customary Aztec method of elevating rooms.



[p. 128(C)]

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plaza was essential for communal gatherings; the market and the principal structures, like the main temple and the chief's quarters, were situated at this point. In Tenochtitlan, which was reported to have sixty thousand fires or hearths, or figuring on the same basis as above, three hundred thousand people, additional centers existed for each clan and for the four larger districts into which the city was divided for administrative purposes.[16] (See Plate 37, top.)

We have been left a description of an Aztec city in 1524 from a Spanish monk, Fray Toribio de Benavente, called by the Indians "Motolinia," or "poor," in reference to his Franciscan simplicity of life. His firsthand observations have a fresh reality:

"They called these temples *teocallis*, and we found all over the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one crossbow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples, they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and three leagues' distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to the courts of the *teocallis*, . . . the devil did not content himself with the aforesaid *teocallis*, but in each pueblo and in each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes three or four *teocallis*. . . ."[17]

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The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Tepeyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoacan. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they entered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been constructed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern causeway. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight and these simple methods for getting fresh water and disposing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifications, and formal military architecture was rare. The temples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points; indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

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346 Each temple usually had a chamber and an antechamber, and in some cases two or even three shrines rested on the same platform. This platform or substructure gave height and mass to the temple. The usual practice was to lay up rough stone, set in adobe or lime, into a truncated pyramid, the sides of which were broken up by three narrow setbacks and by a steep ramp leading to the top. The surface was of veneered cut-stone slabs, and additional blocks were laid along the ramp to make the stair. Wide balustrades bordered the staircase and often ended in gigantic serpent heads. Aztec construction was the simplest type of engineering, but imposing architectural effects were gained by the consummate artistic sense and superb craftsmanship of the builders.[19] (See Plates 50–51.)

291 554 The adequate, even imposing, housing of the Aztecs and their gods by no means eclipsed their dress. Clothing, besides protecting man from the weather, has an important social function. It is a guide to the sex, age, group, occupation, rank and even character of its wearer. The simple and standardized clothing of our modern society performs the same service, and with a moment's observation one can tell much about a stranger from his clothes. The Aztecs, like many peoples of the world, strove by their dress to accentuate the social differences between people, and pomp and panoply dominated their costume. Or the barbaric splendor of high civilian dress superimposed the fantastic garb of the priests and priestesses in their impersonation of the complex and ornately represented divinities in their pantheon.[20]

[302] The *macehual*, or ordinary tribesman, left his head uncovered, his hair long, and customarily wore a *maxtli*, or loincloth, a mantle knotted over one shoulder, and sandals of

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 346 Teotihuacan was probably the result of the co-operation of communities scattered over a large part of the Valley. Its scale and vastness could not have been achieved by a single resident community. In Chichimec times, when there was no central authority, each community built its temple or temples as best it could, and few survived. Tenayuca still has a temple of this period, the platform walls of which ascend almost vertically. Apparently shrines to two gods rested on the summit. At this same time, across the mountains in Puebla, the Cholulans were piling sun-dried brick on sun-dried brick to make a man-made mountain. So huge is this structure that the priests' quarters as well as the temple were located on top of one of the platforms. A large colonial church founded on the pyramid has obliterated evidence of the ancient temple proper, which tradition dedicated to Quetzalcoatl. It would seem logical to assume that the priests' houses were on a lower level than the shrine, since the tenets of Aztec religious architecture required a dominating position for the earthly residence of the god.* (See Plate 26.)

However, in the Valley of Mexico the communities prospered and their peoples multiplied. As resources and man power increased, the temples became larger and more numerous. Yet so complete was the destruction by the Spaniards and their Indian converts who transformed many a temple on its platform into a large parochial church, that the modern visitor finds little to suggest the architecture of the past. Archaeology has abundantly confirmed, in fragmentary form, the amazed descriptions of the conquerors.

The last two reconstructions at Tenayuca bear witness to the excellent proportions and dramatic principles of Aztec architecture. Excavations in the hill above the railway station

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

at Cuernavaca revealed a temple intact in all except its roof. 174
The temple of the Tepozteco, perched high in the hills over 346
Tepoztlan,* is another nearly perfect example of Aztec architecture on a small scale. A pit sunk in a vacant lot across the street from the cathedral in Mexico City reached the corner between the stair and the western wall of the great temple of Huitzilopochtli, War God of the Aztecs, and the massive size and ornate decoration prove that the startled descriptions of the Spaniards did less than justice to this tremendous monument. A recent excavation in a cliff overhanging Malinalco, near Tenancingo, state of Mexico, brought to light a temple complex, largely hewed from living rock, which thrusts the famous Egyptian rock tombs of Abu-Simbel into the limbo of provincial opera-house scenery.* (See Plates 28, bottom; 37, top; 50–51.)

The Aztec temple had a platform, the sloping sides of 346
which were generally broken by three terraces. A steep, broad 532
stair flanked by balustrades, occasionally with a third dividing it into two, gave access to the top. Carved stone blocks, projecting in rows from the sides of the platform, represented snakeheads, skulls or some other symbolic form of the cult. At the foot of the balustrades huge serpent heads with gaping jaws added to the architectural design and created awe in the beholder. The stair rose broad and steep, focusing the attention on the sacrificial block at the top, over which victims were stretched to await the searching knives of priests.

Behind the block stood the temple or temples, which generally had a back room for the idol and an antechamber for the priests. The walls were usually of dressed stone and

*Te-pos-tla'n.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

346 532 sometimes ornamented with carving or relief. The roof, which was thatched in poor or primitive temples, in important shrines was made of beams laid like a corncrib, growing smaller toward the top. Plaster laid on twigs or poles sealed the roof against the rain and was carved with designs symbolic of the god inside. The interiors were noisome places, coated with blood and smoke, for incense was burned in profusion, as were the hearts of sacrificed victims. The proportions of terrace to terrace, temple to platform, stair to façade, were maintained irrespective of size, producing an effect of height and mass which yet in no way detracted from either the platform or the temple. This sense of proportion extends into every aspect of Aztec art and craftsmanship.

327 346 532 Some temples were cylindrical and rested on square or circular platforms.[1] These were dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, often represented as Ehecatl,* God of the Wind, to whose passage a rounded surface offered no obstacle. Sometimes the door of such a temple was fashioned in the form of a serpent head, while the circular building suggested its body. A superb temple of this type is part of the Malinalco group mentioned above, which is hollowed out of the living rock. The door is carved at either side in low relief to suggest a serpent head in profile, while the whole also can be visualized as a snakehead in full face, of which the open mouth constitutes the door. A bench circles around the walls within, and the *skins* of eagles and ocelot, emblematic of the rising and setting sun, are carved in relief as if they hung from the wall to drape over the bench. An altar in the center of the room represents another eagle. This elaborate concept is

*Ay-hay-cat.

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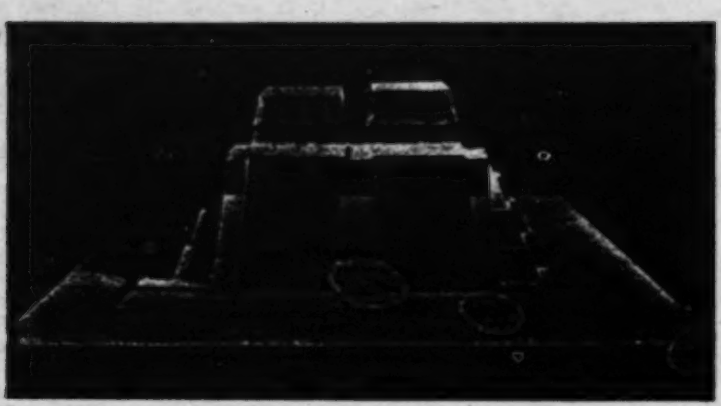

PLATE 50

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

The temples were the most imposing aspect of Aztec architecture. Top: Model of the Temple of Tenayuca as it looked at the time of the Conquest. Bottom: The temple as it looked during excavation. The staircase focused the attention of the worshipers on the culmination of each ceremony, a human sacrifice. Compare also Plates 60 and 61.

[p. 160(B)]

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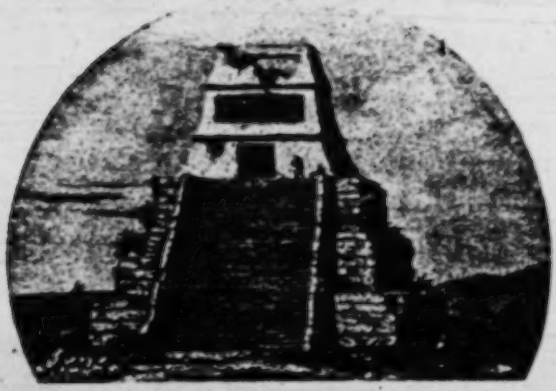

PLATE 51

AZTEC ART

TOP: This modest shrine in honor of the War God is on the borders of the Aztec territory at Santiago Huamuco, Vera Cruz. This engraving of Dupaix, made a hundred years ago, shows that the temple has suffered little in the last hundred years, but few other buildings resisted the destruction of war and evangelism. BOTTOM: The Zocalo, Mexico City, looking northeast. This was the site of the great plaza of Tenochtitlan. The President's palace (*upper right*) rests on the foundations of Montezuma's palace. The great temple to the Gods of War and Rain stood just east of the cathedral. At the streetcar crossing in the foreground a large disk like the Calendar Stone (Plate 52) still lies buried. The present square is built on the remains of the Tenochcan city, twenty feet above the ancient level.

[p. 160(C)]

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PLATE 53

AZTEC ART

TOP: This feathered snake in the Mexican National Museum may well symbolize Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning and the Priesthood. This representation differs from the fire snake in that it lacks a raised crest over the head. BOTTOM: The enormous snake at the foot of the balustrade to the great temple in Mexico is a dramatic architectural ornament, frequently employed in Aztec temple building. Snakes were the major ornament at Tenayuca (Plate 50, above) and many other Aztec buildings, appearing also far to the east in Mexican Chichen Itza.

[p. 160(E)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

carved from the solid rock cliff and is a marvelous blend of architectural design and sculptural skill.*

The Aztec sculptors worked in relief and in the round, in heroic and in miniature size, and were equally able in symbolic and naturalistic conceptions, which they could execute in whatever medium was available. Our modern appreciation of their work is hampered by the prominence of religious *motifs,* which often detract by crowded detail or grotesque fantasy from the clean lines of their basic proportions. Aztec art, we have insisted, was never completely secular. Yet, in compensation, the Aztecs allowed a lively appreciation of natural elements to enter purely religious conceptions wherever possible.

From the time of the Middle Cultures the Mexicans used baked clay extensively for sculpture and worked out in it their artistic standards. The few surviving examples of wooden sculpture suggest that this medium was carved in accordance with stone techniques and did not, as in Egypt and Greece, serve as a training ground for standards later transferred to stone. If anything, the plastic methods of Mexico had their origin in a long and continuous handling of clay. Both media entail an emphasis on surface and contour; and the technical process of reducing stone by pecking and polishing, if more laborious, is not, in the last analysis, very different from the final smoothing and finishing of a work in clay. Thus the sculptors achieved a delicate appreciation of the contours and lines of the human form.

Partly owing to the past tradition and partly because the images of the gods were set in the temples, the Aztec artists showed their figures in passive attitudes, more often seated than erect. The austerity of their life led the Aztecs to

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 keenly. The Aztecs had no money, so that barter was the
438 usual means of purchase. The cacao bean, however, had a standard value, and this, in equalizing exchanges, performed the nearest approach to the function of currency. Passing
[625] through the crowd were warriors who acted as police and, should a disagreement arise, haled disputants into a court where a tribal elder settled the question in his capacity as judge.

174 Beyond the market was a double line of walls which
346 divided the market from the temple precinct of Tlaltelolco.
361 Rectangular buildings, with patios in their centers, housed the priests and the various schools and councils of the central organization of the community. Farther on were grouped the principal shrines. In their midst the great temple to the War God shouldered its bulk into the sky. There was a skull rack here, like the one in Tenochtitlan, and another heap was made of the bones of the victims. Near the great pyramid stood a circular temple, the door of which was built to resemble the mouth of a serpent, the place of worship of the god Quetzalcoatl. The sacrificial block in front was black with the smoke of incense and the blood of victims. A pile of stone knives and axes gave a sinister indication of what rites were practiced there.

[312] Pools fed by the pipes of an aqueduct leading from the mainland gave an impression of quiet peace. The reflections of the temples distorted occasionally by the breeze, intensified the brooding mysticism of the sacred enclosure. In contrast to the austerity of the priests, young girls, their eyes virtuously downcast, slipped back and forth, carrying out the various errands of their training school within the enclosure. The great pyramid and the temple of the War God

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

completely dominated the place. At regular intervals terraces broke the lines of the sloping sides and increased the impression of its size. A wide staircase of one hundred and fourteen narrow steps led up the western side, and so steep was this stair that not until one's head rose clear of the platform did the temple itself come into view.

The temple, in reality, comprised two shrines, built side by side, each having stone walls and soaring roofs of wood coated with plaster. Through the right-hand door one could clearly see the squat figure of Huitzilopochtli carved from the stone and covered with a paste in which were set jade, turquoise, gold and seed pearls. A girdle of gold snakes, picked out in precious stones, adorned his waist, and around his neck hung a string of gold masks covered with turquoise mosaic. By his side stood the statue of an attendant deity, equipped with a short lance and a gold shield, richly decorated with the customary mosaic.

In the adjoining shrine stood an image of Tezcatlipoca, one of the most prominent Aztec gods. His eye sockets were inlaid with mirrors of obsidian, the black depths of which reflected the red gleams of the afternoon light. This statue, too, was adorned with gold and precious stones. High in the wooden roof of this temple perched a small figure of Xipe, the God of Seedtime. Braziers of incense discharged greasy coils of smoke which deepened the gloom of the temples, whose walls were already black with the blood of many victims. In dim corners stood heaps of ritualistic paraphernalia, conch-shell trumpets, knives, banners and baskets of shapeless lumps of meat, surplus human hearts which, for some reason, had not yet been placed upon the braziers. The priests who glided through this murk seemed fitting satellites to the

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

diabolic images to which they ministered. In front of the temples stood the great drum which was soon to throb across the lake as a nation suffered its death agony.

It was from this point that Montezuma showed Cortes his empire, and Bernal Diaz, who witnessed the scene, left us this unforgettable description:

"Then Montezuma took Cortes by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water and the many other towns and the land around the lake. . . . So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico . . . and we saw the [aqueduct of] fresh water that comes from Chapultepec, which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart . . . and we beheld on the lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food, others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise, and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house except by drawbridges, which were made of wood, or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues [temples] and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold!"[9]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

themselves the owners of extensive estates by which their descendants could profit. The Spaniards married into chiefly families, which they believed hereditary, according to their own cultural pattern. In some cases chiefs, like those of Tlaxcala, received coats of arms and patents of nobility from the king for their service in the Spanish cause. Out of 190 coats of arms presented for services during the Conquest of Middle and South America, at least twenty were granted to Indians. In consequence there took place a modest renascence of Indian culture. Indian authors like Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin set forth, in Spanish or Nahuatl, the annals of their forebears as proof of their descent from great Indian nobles and of their right to Spanish honors as well.* (See Plate 44.)

The old culture died slowly. In the Indian towns the records were kept in both Spanish and the old Aztec pictographic system to avoid dispute. Dress maintained its old form, except that the friars insisted on trousering the Indians. The rich agriculture was a great boon to the conquerors, who modified it little except for the addition of fruit trees and wheat. Household utensils, like pottery, revealed an engaging fusion of Indian and Spanish ideas, and glazing delighted the Indians, who applied the flux to purely aboriginal forms. Some enchanting little sculptures in clay reveal the old gods and goddesses masquerading as saints in a very thin disguise.

The Indians were used to building temples, and it seemed to them perfectly fitting that they should labor long hours in great numbers to rear structures honoring the new gods. The conversion was so popular that the churches were too small to hold the worshipers, and several conventual temples, like Acolman, Actopan and Tlamanalco, had chapels which

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

797 opened on a large court to accommodate converts who gath-
346 ered literally in the tens of thousands. Indian craftsmen
177 found steel tools a superb improvement on their stone hammers and chisels. After the original plateresque architecture shifted into baroque, they reveled in shaping the blocks into ornate shapes, for it was as easy as cutting cheese in comparison to the labor of their aboriginal days.[8]

636 This period of fusion lasted for almost a century. In the
175 meantime the original Conquistadors and their descendants, together with later immigrants to the new colony, had encroached more and more on the natives. The development of the mining industries absorbed thousands of Indians, lured to work for a pittance under noisome conditions which brought sickness and even death. The exercise of the *encomienda*, an arrangement whereby a man had the right to a native's labor in return for his care and the assurance of his religious instruction, led to abuse of the privilege, and the luckless Indians were reduced to serfdom. European diseases, like smallpox, measles and tuberculosis, wiped out great sections of the population, which had no hereditary resistance to such maladies. The Crown and the Church, through its Council of the Indies, sent questionnaires and enacted ameliorative legislation on the basis of the information received, but such laws were more honored in the breach than in the observance. Many of the whites who went to New Spain wanted to get rich and enjoy an easy old age in the homeland. Others who had settled in the country enjoyed an almost feudal existence, no part of the profits and comforts of which they wished to yield, either for the betterment of the Indians or for the enrichment of the Crown. When the British destroyed the Armada in 1588 and weakened Spanish sea power, the com-

the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's dress bordered in red eyes, and a cape of netting with snail-shells.[75] His breast ornament had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] arrayed with a chalky ear-plug; his shield was chalk-covered and had paper ornaments. The device for seeing was in his hand. [He was upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

yquaubquentenchil, nanaio, ycuechin, ielpanconqui cyli tzacatlatlapanquj yn jxaiac: yn jnachichioal, ytiçanacoch, ytiçachimal, amapaio, ytlachiaia ynac catca, ytelicpal, acxapalli. 776

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Little Black-Face (Itzlilton), the earth-stamper (Tlaltetecuini).[76]

Jnic caxtolli vce capitulo ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl yn jtoca, catca, itzlilton, tlaltetecujn.

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlacuilocan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

Teutl catca, çan quavitl yn jteupan catca, ytocaiocan tlacujlocan: in vncan yteupan, mjec yn apastli, tzatzacutimanca, motocaiocia itlilauh. [346]

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Itzlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

Auh yn aqujn mococoaia, piltontli, vmpa qujujcaia yn jteupan itzlilton: centetl, qujtlapoaia yn apastli, conjtiaia yn jtlilauh; ic patia in piltontli. 776 757

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Itzlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was arrayed [like the god].

Auh yn aqujn qujtotia, copaltica in ymanaia, ynjc qujvicaia ychan yn jxiptla: çan tlacatl in muchichioaia. 776 535

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and thirst was quenched. After eating, Itzlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[77]

Jn cacic ychan, tlatotia, tzytotia: njman tlatlaqualo, atlioa: yn oclaqualoc, njman mjtotia, yn jxtlilton: yn onjtoci, yn onmacruh, calitic oncalaquj: ixhoxtl qujtlapoa in vetli, nauilhujtica tzacutimilca: ic mjtoaia, tlaiacxapotla, vizmana. 776 [273]

Thus they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

Nimman yc vmpeoa, yn ie tlaoano: oc cepa oalqujça itnalco, qujtlapoa yn jtlilauh, no tzacutimanca nauilhujtica: ic nacujlilhujtl in qujtlapoa:

If dirt, cobwebs, straw, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said perchance he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a monster, he who had the dance. Thus they confronted and reproached him openly. Thus they said [the god] sowed discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

ic mjtoaia, ic motemoaia, intla tlaçolli, yntla tocatzoalli, yntla tzontli, intla tecalli, vncan vetztoc: ic mjtoaia, aço tetlaxima, aço ichtec, anoço ahavilnemj, mahavilitia: ac aço tlacacemelle, in tlatotia, ic qujxmotlaia, qujxcomacaia, qujxpantia: ic mjtoaia tetzalan, tenepantla motoca: ichica, ca qujteixcomaca, qujteixpantia, ic teixmotla, yn jetlatlacal. [787]

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called ixquen (face-covering).[78]

Auh ynjc oalquiça techã, quachtli yn qujmacaia motocaiotia, ixquen. [298]

Thus was [Itzlilton] bedight: he was spread over with unguent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

Jnic muchichioaia, m... mocemjxtlilpopoxa, mjxtiçatlatlali, yn jcamapa: ...popoquachichiqujle, quetzallo, 776

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75. *For description, see illustrations and text in Sahagún: Garibay ed. Historia de las cosas de Nueva España, Vol. II, pp. 515 and 523; and also illustration (Onomástico)—Plate 15.*

The term *cuachtli* means the netted cape or mantle, with its snail-shells knotted where the ends crossed. The *chalcayotl* and the *macuepalli* were presumably the same or similar. Sahagún: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Appendix, cap. 1. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex*, fo. 39r), Sahagún refers to "*su ornamento de su pecho en quadro, hecho en tela rota, al qual llamavan ycuechin, creo que vnos guardas de algodon a los pechos . . .*"

76. *God of medicine. Tlaltetecuin (or tlaltetecuini) is probably formed from tlalli and tetecuinia. Cf. Sahagún: Knigge Kapitel*, Vol. I, p. 16.

77. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 314: ". . . *los que verdaderamente heredaban los mayorazgos y hacian vino nuevo, que se llamaba octzpli.*" The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "*a este abrimiento, llamavan tlacaxapoalla, quiere decir, este: abrimiento primero, o vino nuevo.*" On the meaning of *cuauhcuali*, see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 37, for a definition of *macuahuitzli*.

78. ". . . *demanda vallar: los quales llaman ixquen: que quiere decir, cubrimiento de la cara: porque quedava, amanjonado, aquel que assi hacha, . . le fuesse. . . .*" *Loc. cit.*

blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.[85] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who were skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, none resting.[86] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Totoco.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[87] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on *zapote*-fibre seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[88] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi*-crown[89] was placed [a band] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a *zapote*-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick[90] was in his hand.

tetoca, ynjc motlamauhtiliaia: quinnecaliltiaia, quinnamjquj in tiiacaoan, tlapepenti, tlatzonanti:

yoan in ixqujchti, çan papaqujnj, yn mjhivintia, tlatlamati, moqujchnequj, moqujchnenequj, amjquizmauhque, teca momotlanj, iaotlaveliloque: vncan moiecocaia, moiaomamachtiaia, yn juh mjcaliaque iaopan, vmpa mocacaoaia yn aiac, mjtoaia totecco.

Auh yn totecti njman ie ic noujan, tepan cacalaquj, no tlatlaeoa: tzapoicpalpan tlalilo, quimocholcuzcatia, quinzochineapanaltia, quimicpacxochitia, quintlaoantia.

Auh intla aca cioatl, totomonja, iscococitia: quitoa, ma njctlamanilia, in totec, iquac tlacaxipcoaliztli.

Jn inechichicoal, mixcolnechimale, tenmaxaltic vltica, yiopiztzon contlaliticac maxaliuhquj, conmaqujticac tlacaiecatl, yiecaio malli, tzonchaiaoale, tzucujtlanacoche, tzapocuzie, tzitzile, ichimal tlauhtevilacachiuhquj, chicaoaztli yn jmac icac.

Nineteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Lord at the Vanguard (Yiacatecutli).[91]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, arraying in paper[92] the stout traveling staves[93] with

Jnic caxtolli vnnauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn itoca yiacatecutli.

Puchteca inteuh catca: cenca quimavixtiliaia, quitlaquentiaia amatica: yn jntopil, ymetlatopil, yni nenemja, ynj

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85. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: *"En esta fiesta, bailan como en juego de cañas: de manera que si se vuelo, era de la parte deste dios, o venagan del dios totec: y estos todos, traen vestidos de pellejos de hombres que auian muerto, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y esforçados: que no temian en nada la muerte: acudian, arremetian, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los unos, con los otros, se exercitauã, en el exercicio de la guerra: peleauan los unos, a los otros: hasta no quedar, y de alli, holgian huyendo, hasta su proprio puesto." Cf.* also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cañas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as *"Antigua fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos ó cuadrillas corriendo á caballo, caracoleando gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se resguardaban con la adarga."* A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was reserved to the nobility. It took the form of a picturesque war-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

86. *MS Biblioteca del Palacio, Sahar, Einige Kapitel,* has *ocuan* in the Aztec text, instead of *aiac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Sahr translates the passage as "they stopped, ceased, at the place called Tzonco."

87. *Cf.* Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124: *"Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian muchos mancebos, a los cuales llamaban Totzontli." Cf.* also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Tzontzoli as *"los muertos a lanças del dios Totec."*

88. In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Sahr, *op. cit.*), the word is *mixpichiohticac*, translated as *"er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung."* Sahr also (*Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 102) uses the term *mixpichiohticac* (quail face painting).

89. Sahr (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates *yopi* as "the red people" (Tlapanecs), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they were painted caps.

90. "The word chicuauhli means 'whosoever anything is made strong.' Wood and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive functions, to fertilizing, hence we also see the chicuauhli with the fire sign projecting between the human couples in sexual union." *Sahr: Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 108.

91. Sahr suggests that the form of the name should be *iyaxe-tecuhtli* or *yacatecuhtli* ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 57). Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 57) says he also was named *Yacacolihqui* ("el que tiene la nariz agujerada"); Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name Xicotencatl.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Sahr refers to Yacatecutli as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form Iyacatecutli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yacatecutli with Ixcuinchqui. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

92. Cut in four points and covered with liquid rubber. (Sahr: *op. cit.*, p. 93).

93. The corresponding Spanish text states: *". . . eso una cada, mayores, que ellos llaman vetzi. Y tambien traen de otra manera de hasta,*

The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes, llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluujas. En esta fiesta, matauã muchos njños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diessen agua.

Chapter 3
Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called *xochimanque*, celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

1. Marginal notation: *Apollo habet filiæ suæ.*

Cap. 3.
Toçoztontli.

1 c KL. *c 14*
2 d En esta fiesta: ofrecian las prjmicias *d 15*
3 e de las flores, que aquel año primero *e 16*
4 f nacian en el cu, llamado iopico: y *f 17*
5 g antes que las ofreciessen, nadie osaua *g 18*
6 A oler flor. *A 19*
7 b Los officiales de las flores, que se *b 20*
8 c llaman xochimanque: hazian fiesta, a *c 21*
9 d su diosa llamada Coatl ycue, y por otro *d 22*
10 e nombre coatlã tona. *e 23*
11 f Tambien en este mes: se desnu- *f 24*
12 g dauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los *g 25*
13 A pellejos de los muertos, q̃ aujan des- *A 26*
14 b ollado el mes pasado: yuanlos a echar *b 27*
15 c en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan *c 28*
16 d iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con pro- *d 29*
17 e cesion: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan *e 30*
18 f hediendo, como perros muertos: y *f 31*
19 g despues que los aujan dexado: se *g 1'*
20 A lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas: *A 2'*
Algunos emfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus emfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

Los dueños de los catiuos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: dezian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos.

Despues que aujan acabado la penjtencia: bañauanse, y lauauanse, y combidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comjda: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los catiuos muertos.

2. Marginal notation: *Matar epjpiaron.*

The fifth month they called Toxcatl. On the first day of this month they celebrated a great feast in honor of the god named Titlacauan, and for another name, Texcatlipoca. This one they held to be god of the gods. In his honor, they slew, in this feast, a chosen youth who might have no blemishes upon his body, [who was] reared in all luxuries for the space of a year, [and] trained in the playing [of musical instruments], and in singing, and in speaking.

Al quinto mes llamauan Toxcatl: el primero dia deste mes: hazian gran fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Titlacaoe, y por otro nombre Texcatlibuca: a este tenjan por dios de los dioses: a su honrra matauan en esta fiesta vn mancebo escogido, q̃ ninguna tacha tuujese en su cuerpo: criado en todos deleytes, por espacio de vn año, instruto en tañer, y en cantar, y en hablar.

Chapter 5
Toxcatl

This feast was the most important of all the feasts. It was like Easter, and fell near Easter Sunday—a few days after. This youth, reared as hath been said, was very comely, and chosen from many. He had long hair—down to the waist.

When, on this feast, they slew the young man who had been reared for [the rôle], they at once produced another, who was to die after one year. He walked everywhere in the town finely arrayed with flowers in his hand, and with people who accompanied him. He greeted with good grace those whom he met. All knew that this one was the likeness of Texcatlipoca, and they bowed before him and worshiped him whenever they met him.

Twenty days before this feast came, they gave this young man four comely young women reared for [the part], with whom for all the twenty days, he had carnal relations. And they changed his array when they gave him these young women: [they] clipped his hair like a war captain and gave him more finery [even] braver [than what he had had].

Five days before he was to die, they celebrated feasts for him and banquets, in cool and pleasant places. Many of the leading men accompanied him. On the arrival of the day he was to die, they took him to a pyramid or sanctuary which they called

1. Marginal notation: *Mitlor ler dize xuxi.*

Cap. 5.
Toxcatl

Esta fiesta, era la principal de todas las fiestas, era como pascua, y caya cerca de la pascua de resurrection pocos dias despues: este mancebo criado, como esta dicho era muy bien dispuesto, y escogido entre muchos: tenja los cabellos largos hasta la cinta.

Quando en esta fiesta matauã al mãcebo que estaua criado para esto: luego sacauan otro: el qual auja de morir dẽde a vn año, andaua por todo el pueblo muy ataujado con flores en la mano, y con personas que le acõpañauan saludaua a los que topaua graciosamẽte: todos sabian que era aquel la ymagẽ de Texcatlipuca: y se prosternauã delante del, y le adorauan donde qujera que le topauan.

Viente dias antes que llegasse esta fiesta: dauã a este mancebo quatro moças, biẽ dispuestas y criadas para esto: con las quales todos los veinte dias tenja cõuersaciõ carnal: y mudauanle el traje, quando le dauã estas moças, cortauale los cabellos como capitã y dauãle otros ataujos mas galanes.

Cinco dias antes que muriesse: hazianle fiestas y vanquetes en lugares frescos y amenos: acompañauanle muchos principales: llegado el dia donde auja de morir: lleuauanle a un cu, o oratorio que llamauã tlacuchcalco. y ante que llegasse alli en vn lugar que

2. Marginal notation: *Nouel, Achiel sego Pan.*

X 796
[346]
[534]
[417]

Tlacochcalco; and, before he arrived there, at a place which they called Tlapitzauayan, the women withdrew and left him. Arrived at the place where they were to kill him, he ascended the steps himself; on each of them he shattered one of the flutes which he had played as he walked, all during the year. When he had reached the summit [of the pyramid], they threw him upon the sacrificial stone; they tore out his heart; they brought down the body, carrying it in their hands; below, they cut the head off and ran through it [the crosspiece of the skull rack] which is called *tzompantli*. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast, which are set forth at length in their account, *fol.* 53.

llamauã tlapitzaóaiã, apartauãse las mugeres y dexauãle: llegádo al lugar, donde le auiã de matar: el mismo se subia por las gradas, en cada vna dellas, hazia pedaços vna flauta de las cõ que andaua tañendo todo el año: llegado arriba, echauãle sobre el tazõ sacauanle el corcaçõ, tornauã a decendir el cuerpo abaxo en palmas, abaxo le cortauã la cabeça y la espetauã en vn palmo que se llama Tzompãtli: Otras muchas cerimonjas, se haziã en esta fiesta: las quales estan escriptas a la large en su historia. fo. 53.

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuja: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

796 X
805
776
785

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

1. Illegible notation: *Juejue los dias sen.*

Cap. 6.
Etzalqualiztli.

Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros, yuã por junças a Citlaltepec: que se hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab- scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se defendia: maltratauãle de tal manera q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena le dan: porque por ser mjnjstros de los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njnguna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos catiuos y otros

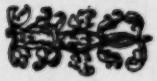
137
346
651
681
262
786
688

X 796
●[346]

The hunt ended, they slew captives and slaves on a pyramid which they call Tlamatzinco. They bound them hand and foot, and carried them up the steps of the pyramid (as one carrieth a deer by the hind and forelegs to slaughter). They slew with great ceremony the man and the woman who were the likeness[es] of the god Mixcoatl and of his consort. They slew them on another pyramid which was called Mixcoateopan. Many other ceremonies [were performed]. Etc.

[346]

Acabada la caça: matauan captiuos y esclauos en vn cu, que llaman tlamatzinco ataualos de pies y manos, y lleuauãlos por las gradas del cu arriba (como qujen lleua vn ciervo por los pies y por las manos a matar) matauanlos con gran cerimonja: al hombre y a la muger que erã ymagẽ del dios Mixcoatl y de su muger matauãlos en otro cu, que se llamaua Miscoateupan. Otras muchas cerimonjas. Etc.



The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

"Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes hazíã fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobuchtli: antes desta fiesta los satrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penjtencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a llenar ramos a los montes. Etc.

796X
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785]

Chapter 15
Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the nineteenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Paynal, and he slew four of those slaves in the hall court which was found in the courtyard which they called Tezcachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

1. Marginal notation: Dedicatio Templi offert.

Cap. 15.
Panquetzaliztli.

1 e KL. Panquetzaliztli. e 9'
2 f El segundo dia deste mes començauã f 10
3 g todos a hazer areyto, y a cantar los can- g 11
4 A tares de Vitzilobuchtli, en el patio de A 12
5 b su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to- b 13
6 c dos juntos: começauan estos cantares c 14
7 d a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez: d 15
8 e durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte e 16
9 f dias. f 17
10 g A los nueue dias deste mes: apare- g 18
11 A jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que A 19
12 b auian de matar pintauanlos de diuersas b 20
13 c colores, componjãlos con muchos pa- c 21
14 d peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos, d 22
15 e en el qual vyan vna muger y vn hom- e 23
16 f bre pareados cantando y bayläão. f 24
17 g A los dezisey dias deste mes: co- g 25
18 A mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los A 26
19 b esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen- b 27
20 c çauan a hazer vnas danças en que yvan c 28
todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebreãdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que auian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobuchtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Paynal, y mataua quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã tlatlachtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes mataua en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos partialidades, murian algunos en la escaramuça.

796X
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[302]
796X
[535]
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[726]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

X 796
[346]
533

After many ceremonies, at last they slew captives on the Pyramid of Uitzilopochtli, and also many slaves. And, having slain one, they sounded musical instruments. And on finishing [with one], they seized another, to slay him. And, on killing him, they again sounded [musical instruments]. Thus they did to each one until finishing them [all]. On ceasing to slay these unhappy ones, they started to dance and to sing, to eat and to drink, and thus the feast ended.

Despues de muchas cerimonjas: finalmente matauan captiuos, en el cu, de Vitzilobuchtli, y tambien muchos esclauos y en matando a vno tocauan los instrumẽtos musicales, y en cesando tomauan otro para matarle, y en matandole tocauã otravez; ansi hazian a cada vno, hasta acabarlos: acabando de matar estos tristes, començauan a baylar, y a cantar, a comer y a beuer, y ansi se acabaua la fiesta.

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
X 796 and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they
463 offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

X 796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the
[776] first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses
[289] who are named Ciuapipilti, because they said that then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

The Fourth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second
273 house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a
[776] great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the second god of wine; and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the courtyard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine,
[463] and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, *and all who wished went to drink. They had*
[415] some canes through which they drank. The wine sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

The Fifth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they
[301] otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
[423] to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they
● [346] observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce descendian a la tierra, ataujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comjda, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que. eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: *los taberneros yuan cenando* el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

like a woman, he went with a man's fortitude; he bore himself like a man; he went speaking in manly fashion; he went exerting himself; he went strong of heart and shouting, not without courage nor stumbling, but honoring and praising his city.

He went with firm heart, speaking as he went: "Already here I come! You will speak of me there in my home land!"

And so they were brought up [the pyramid temple steps] before [the sanctuary of] Uitzilopochtli.

Thereupon they stretched them, one at a time, down on the sacrificial stone; then they delivered them into the hands of six priests, who threw them upon their backs, and cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife.[6]

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle.[7] They offered it to him; they nourished him with it.

And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle-vessel.[8] And these captives who had died they called "eagle men."[9]

Afterwards they rolled them over; they bounced them down; they came tumbling down head over heels, and end over end, rolling over and over; thus they reached the terrace at the base of the pyramid.[10]

And here they took them up.

And the old men, the *quaquacmilo*, the old men of the tribal temples, carried them there to their tribal temples, where the captor had promised, undertaken, and vowed [to take a captive].

There they took [the slain captive] up, in order to carry him to the house [of the captor], so that they might eat him. There they portioned him out, cutting him to pieces and dividing him up. First of all they reserved for Moctezuma a thigh, and set forth to take it to him.

And [as for] the captor, they there applied the down of birds to his head and gave him gifts. And

moq'chchicauhtic, oquicheoatiuh, moquichitotiuh, mellaquauhtiuh, moiolchicauhtiuh, oalmotzaczilitiuh, amo tlacuecuetlaxotiuh, amo tlapolotiuh, tlatenioticiuh, quiiauhcaiotitiuh yn ialtepeuh:

yiollo quimattiuh, quioalitotiuh, ie nōiauh, annechonitoznque, vmpa nochan yn.

Auh yn ie iuhquj yn oxxitiloque tlacpac, ixpan in vitzilobuchtli:

njman ie ic creceniaca quimonteca in techcac, ic inmac in tlamacazque, quinchiquacencaujaia, quimaquetzttiteca, quimelletequj, yca izquacac, patlacac tepac.

Auh yn iniollo, mamalti quitocaiotia, quauhnochtli tlaçotli: conioalia in tonatiuh xippilli, quatleuanjtl quitlamaca, quizcaltia.

Auh yn oventic quauhxicalco contlalia, quauhxicalco contlalitiuj: auh in iehoantin mjquja mamalti, quintocaiotiaia Couuhteca:

çatepan quinoalmjmjloa, quinoaltetecujchoa, chachalcatiujtze, maiotzincueptiujtze, motzotzoniquetatiujtze, mocuecuepoiujtze, ynjc oalhci apeuhc:

auh vncan, quimonana:

auh ie inmac in veve'tzitzin quaquacujlti, calpulvevetque: vmpa quinujca yn incalpulco, yn vmpa omotlatlalili, omjto, omonetolti male:

vmpa conana, ynic quijuica ichan, ynjc quiquazque: vmpa quixexelloa, quiietequj, quiuevelloa: oc ie achto quitonaltia in motecuçuma ce ymetz, mantiuh in quiuiquijlia.

Auh in tlamani, vmpa quiquaspotonja, yoan qui-

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6. In op. cit., p. 63, Soler qualifies a "*dicho breue Prouerviumente*." Simón (op. cit.) defines *proverbio* as "Cosiones *puso los sacrificios humanos, fue uno de ellos en de Palenkeuue. . . .*" Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía's "Historia de los indios de Nueva España," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; México: Librería de J. M. Andrade, 1858). Vol. I, p. 68, definitely states that the knife was of flint, not obsidian. Motolinía describes it as "un cuchillo ancho *pedernal* . . . no de *pasado hacer muy agudo*. . . ."

7. *Quauhxoxouhi*: probably *quauhtlaxoxouhi* is meant. This term, and its synonym, *quauhtlaçol*, Soler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 142) considers as mentioning the sun.

8. Soler consistently renders the term *quauhxicalli* as *talla-vasija* (*cf. Bisaje Español*, p. 34). In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 135, he breaks the word down into *quauxil* and *xicalli* (wooden vessel), and argues that the syllable *quauxil* was always understood to mean eagle. The vessels were actually to have been made of stone, and were used not only for the hearts but for the blood as well. Sahagún, no less consistently than Soler, uses the term *vasera de madera*.

9. In Lib. II of the *Florentine Codex*, fn. 10 *a*, Sahagún writes: "Perquen *quauhtlo* her companyon, *her Romanum quauhtemo*." In *loc. cit.*, Soler translates *quauhtemoc* as "the one from the eagle-land," the body of the sacrificed victim. The soul went to the house of the sun, the mortal skin, or the sun's image and representative (p. 157).

10. *Apostol* (*cf.* Soler, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 9) is a small terrace projecting at the foot of the pyramid stairway. Soler here cites Sahagún, Lib. IX, cap. 14, and Lib. II, caps. 29 and 33.

X 796 266 he summoned his blood relations, he assembled them, that they might go to eat at the house of him who had taken the captive.

[282] And here they cooked each one a bowl of a stew of dried maize, called *tlacatlaolli*, which they set before each, and in each was a piece of the flesh of the captive.

[302] They named [the captor] the sun, white earth, the feather, because [he was] as one whitened with chalk and decked with feathers.

X 796 The pasting on of feathers was done to the captor because he had not died there in the war, but was yet to die, and would pay his debt [in war or by sacrifice]. Hence his blood relations greeted him with tears and encouraged him.

And on the morrow, the gladiatorial sacrifice[11] was made. Until early morning, until dawn, they made them hold vigil, all night, until the night was ended. Thus did the captives, those to be sacrificed, pass the whole night until dawn.

From those whom they would offer as sacrifices, once more they took hair [from the crown of their heads], at midnight.

This was called "the sending upward of the eagle man";[12] because he who died in war went *into* the presence of [the sun]; he went before and rested in the presence of the sun. That is, he did not go to the land of the dead.

And therefore he who took hair [from the crown of a captive's head] kept his hair safely.

[276] Because thus he attained honors, flowers, tobacco prepared for smoking, and [rich] cloaks.

Thus the captive's valor would not in vain perish; thus he took from the captive his renown.

● [346] And he who took the captive was adorned, there at [the Temple of] Tecanman, in Tenochtitlan, with white turkey down, the feathers being pasted upon him as hath been set forth in [the Feast] of Quauitl eua.

And the place where, arranged in order, the *tototecti* remained, was upon white earth or upon grass; for there was white earth in the place where they waited.[13]

And wherever in the city grass was shaken out, upon it they placed, set forth, and exhibited them—

tlauhtia: auh yn ioaniolque quintlalhuja, quĵeuitalia, ynic tlaquatinj ichan tlamanj:

vmpa quintotonaltia cecen molcaxtid in tlaolpaoaztli, q'nmamanjliaia, itoca tlacatlaolli, ypan ieietiuh ceceн tlatectli yn jnacaio malli:

quitocaiotia tonatiuh, tiçatl, hiujtl: ipampa iuhquĵa ytiçaio, yujio.

ypotonjloca omochiuh in tlamanj, ynic amo vmpa omjc iaopan, yn anoçe oc miquĵtiuh, quĵxtlaoatiuh, ic quĵchoquiztlapaloa, quellaquaoa yn joaiolque.

Auh yn imuztlaioc, tlaoaoano: yn jioatzinioc, inic oallatuiz quintoçauja, iuh ceioal, iuh tlami ioalli, iuh contlaça in ceiocal, iuh ipan tlaruj, in mamaltj, in oaoanti:

in quinoaoanaxque, oc no cepa quintzoncuj, ioalnepantla:

ic mitoaia onacoquĵxtilo in quauhtecatl, iehica ca iaomjquj, ixco iauh, ixcopa itztiuh, ixco monoltitoc in tonatiuh, quĵtoznequj, amo mictlan iauh:

yoan ipampa in quĵtzoncuja, quimopialtiaia yn itzon:

iehica ca ic oquimomacevj, in maviçoti, in xuchitl yn ietl, in tilmatli:

ynjc amo çan nenpoliuiz itiiacauhio: iuhquinma ic contleiocujliaiz malli.

Auh in tlamanj vmpa muchichioa in tecanma, tenochtitla, iztac totolihujtl, ynjc mopotonja, in iuh omoteneuh ipan quauĵtl eoa.

Auh in vncan momanaia tototeti, tecpantimanj vipantimanj tiçapan, anoço çacapan: ipampa ca tiçatl antoca in vncan momanaia.

Auh in cana altepetl ipan, çacatl motzetzeloa, yn ipan quinoalmana, quinoalquetza, quinoalteittitia:

11. *See* p. 44. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71, says, in the discussion of agricultural connotations of the ceremony, that "The preparation of the ground and the making it fruitful was represented to the people, who flocked together from all directions, by the 'scratching' ceremonial."

12. *See* note 9; also Seler (*Einige Kapitel*), p. 65.

13. In the corresponding Spanish, Sahagún states: *"porque todos estuuiesen, estuuo vna noche de hora, o de ayuel, o poco mas o menos."*

X 796 702

us men, they were vain, they were only weak words. For in truth thus the women could torment [young men] into war; thus they moved and provoked them; thus the women prodded them into battle.

For we men said:

"Bloody, painful are the words of the women; bloody, heart-rending are the words of the women. Let us be on our way; let us offer ourselves as warriors. Friends, perchance we may attain reward."

X 796 [316]

And when [the young girls] went carrying upon their backs the maize god[desses], as they took them to Chicome coatl's temple, [the ears of maize] were made hearts. They became the granary's heart; in the maize-bin they laid them.

And when seed was sown, when it was the time for planting, this they sowed, [which] they had made into seed. They made seed maize of it.

And they made and instituted this feast for Chicome coatl.

[532]

They formed her image like a woman. They said: "Yea, verily, this one is our sustenance"; that is to say, she is truly our flesh, our livelihood; through her we live and are strong. If she [were] not, we should die of hunger.

For he who eateth no *tortillas*, he then fainteth; he falleth down; he droppeth quickly: there is a twittering as of birds in his ears: darkness descendeth upon him.

X 796 824 243

And it is said, it is this Chicome coatl who maketh all our food—

white maize; yellow maize; green maize shoots;[12] black maize,[13] black and brown mixed, and variously hued;[14] large and wide; round and bull-like; slender maize; thin, long maize; speckled red and white maize,[15] which hath blood-red lines and is [as if] painted with blood,

then, the coarse, brown maize,[16] which is as if tawny in appearance; popcorn;[17] the after-fruit;[18] double ears; and maturing green maize;

toquỹchti, ca çaxampanca, ca ça in tonetuhcatlatol: ca uel ic quimonextzintopeuaia in cioa iaoc, ic teiolhoteoa, ic teioleoa, ic teiollo tlacujnia in cioa, in iaoc.

Ca quỹttoa, in toquỹchti

eço tecoco, yn jndiatol cioa, eço teittic acic in cioatlatolli, ca otiiaque, ça otiquỹtoque, yn ahtinemiaque: aço itla tomacenal tocnjuhtez.

Auh in quimaamatiuj in cicinteteuh, yn oquỹtquja itrupan chicome coatl, tlaiollotl muchioa: incuescomaiollo muchioa, cuescomac contema.

Auh yn iquac totoca, in ie toquizpã, iehoatl quỹtocaia quỹxinachioaia, quỹxinachioa.

Auh injn quỹlhuỹtlaltia, quỹlhuỹchiuỹlia in chicome coatl:

iuhquin cioatl quỹtlaliaia ixiptla. Quỹtoaia, ca uel iehoatl in tonacaiutl: tuhq'nma quỹtoznequj, ca nel tonacaio, tonenca, ic tioltinemj, tooxpoaca: intlacamo iehoatl, ca tapiztmiquizque.

Ca yn aquỹn, aule quỹqua tlaxcalli, ca njman çotlaxa, vetzi, meciuhtiuetzi, ynacaz, yicaoaca, tlaiolli ipã moenana:

yoan mjtoa, ca in iehoatl chicome coatl, ca quỹchioa yn izquỹch tonacaiutl:

in iztac tlaolli, in coztic tlaolli, in xiuhtoctli, yiaujtl, yiauhnenel, izuhcacalquj, tlaolpatlachtli, in tzopiantic, in tlaolpicilli, tlaolpitzaoac: in xochicintli, ynjn iuhquỹn ezoaanquj, ezcujcuỹltic:

njman ieer in quappachcintli: iuhquỹn quappachtli, itlachielix, momochicintli, in molquỹtl, cinmaitl, cintzacapalli: yoan in xilotl, in cacamotl, in elotl:

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12. A gloss in the Aztec text of Lib. XI. cap. xii. of the *Florentine Codex* defines *nicheuatli* as "*Por de mayz tiernico verdes, porque y madurez.*"

13. "*Especie de mayz negro*" (*loc. cit.*), Molina (*op. cit.*) says "*mayz morenos o negros.*"

14. Sahagun (*loc. cit.*) defines *cuechcelelcoc* as "*Especie de mayz por diuersas colores.*"

15. No gloss appears in *loc. cit.* The Nahuatl text reads: "*xochicuetli ioaz cuuli tlapchaanaqui, tlapchaquiztlac tetzmoluztic, tetzmoquiztlac, tetzmoquiztic, tzontlapchaltic tzontlac, tzontlapchaltic tzontlac, tzontlapchaltic tzontlac, tzontlapchaltic.*"

16. *Loc. cit.* has "*Especie de mayz lenudos.*" In the Kingsborough edition, Vol. III, p. 102, there is reference to "*ciertos manoyos de maiz que nacen ancher y agrandan, e lenudos, que en la Lengua de Tlaxcala se llaman tentzontli cochcintli, quappachcintli.*" A gloss in the *Florentine Codex* (*loc. cit.*) says, however, that *tentzontli* are "*Especie de mayz que nacen de dos en dos.*" In Simeon (*op. cit.*) *quappachtli* is given as synony ar rodete. Molina (*op. cit.*) has "*color leonado, o moreno mezclado.*" For *quappachcintli*, Simeon has "*maiz grueso ai brun, qui auvient à gauche les gonflements provenant de la humeur de ce (Clerk.).*"

17. Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 90) defines *nacaztololi* as "*mayz tostado y reventado,*" and on fo. XCv of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, Sahagún writes that it is "*maiz tostado . . . que cada grano se revuelve como flor blanquissima.*"

18. *Redrojos de mazorca* (Molina, *op. cit.*).

A 1796 in five days the feast day of Tonatl would come, then they began to sing [and dance].

Now, during this time, Moctezuma came not forth; those who had been [the impersonators'] companions provided the people with food and favors.

On the first day they sang [and danced] at a place called Tecanman. On the second day, in the place where they kept the image of Titlacauan, in the house of the keeper who guarded it. On the third day, at Tepetzinco, in the midst of the lagoon. On the fourth [day], at Tepepulco, which is also near Tepetzinco.

[501] After they had sung [and danced], then he embarked in a canoe. The women went traveling with him; they went consoling him and keeping him merry. Then the canoe arrived; then it touched the shore: then it was beached at a place called Acaquilpan or Canalhepec.

For here he was abandoned, a little [distance] from Tlapitzauhcan. The women then returned; and only they who had freely become his pages accompanied him while he yet lived.

● [346] So, it was said, when he arrived where he was to die, [where] a small temple stood, called Tlacochcalco, he ascended by himself, of his free will, to the place where he was to die. When he climbed the first step, as he passed one [step], he there broke, shattered, his flute, his whistle, etc.

And when he had mounted all the steps, when he had reached the summit, then the priests fell upon him; they threw him on his back upon the sacrificial stone. Then [one] cut open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it as an offering to the sun.

For in this manner were all [these] captives offered up. But his body they did not roll down; rather, they lowered it. Four men carried it.

And his severed head they strung on the skull-rack. Thus he ended in the adornment in which he died. Thus he there ended his life, there he terminated his life, when he went to die there at Tlapitzauian.

And this betokeneth our life on earth. For he who rejoiceth, who possesseth riches, who seeketh and coveteth our lord's sweetness, his gentleness—riches and prosperity—thus endeth in great misery. For it is said: "None come to an end here upon earth with happiness, riches, and wealth."[12]

[538]

A 1796 778 And here in Mexico, when [it was the month of] Tonatl, was set up and formed a figure of Uitzilcuiltl, oquiuh mocuiilhuiltl quiçan yn ilhuitl Tonatl, in pena cuicuica:

yn iquac y, yn iuquilhuitl y, aocmo onmachiztia yn motecuçoma, oc ie ycemuic caeca, tetlaqualtia tetlauhtia,

ynic cemilhuitl cuicuica, itoxiocan tecanma: ynic omilhuitl, vncan in pialoia, in teixiptla in titlacaoan, yn ichã aquin calpixaqui, yn oquipiaia: ynic eilhuitl tepetzinco, vmpa in anepantla, ynic nappa tzpepulco, çan no itlan in tepetzinco.

Yn on cujcujcac njman ie ic onmocaloquia, itlan ietihui in cioa, quiiollalitiui, quellaquauhtiuj: vmpa vnquiça, vmpa onatenquiça, vmpa quimonacana in acalli, yiocaiocan acaquilpan, anoço canalhepec:

ipampa ca vncan onteicaoloia, achi ie ytlan in tlapitzauhcan: in cioa vncan oalmocuepa: auh ça ieholi in matian muchioa, yn jachoan ocatca, yn oquitocatinenca in iẽc oc nemj.

Juh mjtoa yn oacic, in v: :an mjquja teucaltenchi icaia, itoca tlacochcalco: çan moma in tleco, çan monomatlecauja, in vmpa mjquja: in ce tlamamatlatl contlecauja, in ce companauja, ce vncan quixamanja, quijxurtequi yn itlapiçtal, yn jvilacapitz, etc.

Auh yn oquipantlaz, yn inquj tlamamatlad, yn opanuetzito tlacpac: njman quicuiuetzi in tlamacazque, conaquetztiteca in techcac: njman ie ic quelttequj, conanilia yn iiollo, no conjauhia in tonatiuh:

ca çan muchi tlacatl iuh mictiloia, in mamalti. Auh yn jtlac omo quioalmjmjlooaia, çan quioaltemoujaia, quinauhcaujaia:

auh yn jtzontecõ, tzompatiuech conquauhço, iuh tlantica, yn iuh ipã omjc ynechichioal: ie vmpa ontlamj yn jnemjliz, vmpa contzonquistia yn jnemjliz, yn vmpa omjquito Tlapitzaucian.

Auh ynjn ca quinezcaiotia, in tlaltipac tonemjliz: ca in aquin paquj, motlamachtia, in quitta in quimauiçoa in itzopelica, yn jauiiaca in totecuio, in necuiltonolli, in netlamachtilli: injc tzonquiça vey netolinjliztli: ca iuh mjtoa, aiac quitlamictiah in tlaltipac, paquiliztli, necuiltonolli, netlamachtilli.

Auh yn nican mexico, yn iquac Tonatl: motlalia

12. This is a reference to the characteristics of Tezcatlipoca. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 2.

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—after Paso y Troncoso

8-12. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 22)
13-14. Uei tecuilli (Chapter 23)

[p. 102 E]

X 796 **Thirty-first Chapter**, which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the feast of the twelfth month, which was named Teotl eco.

The twelfth feast was the one named "The God Arriveth."[1]

[824] When there were still five days before the end of the month, then began the strewing of fir branches.[2] The branches were of three stalks, which they bound together. Only the young men laid them down, on

● [346] every small pyramid, in the temples of the Cinateteo,[3] and in all the dwellings where were kept images of the devils.

And when they scattered branches in every home, they offered [the idols] a small basket of dried grains of maize; or else of maize, four dried ears; [or], in some places, three. If [the householder] were very

[252] poor, he offered two dried ears of maize.[4] This was named the tongs [for maize grains];[5] for the youths ate the maize toasted in the embers. And none who had not the right [to do so] might eat the maize thus toasted; only those who were diligent, discreet, careful; the alert, who trusted not [too much] their [own] diligence.

[176] And on the third day of the spreading out of branches, then there arrived Telpochtli; and his name was Tlamatzincatl.[6] He came first; this one arrived ahead. For this reason he came here first: he was still a youth, still strong, fleet, nimble.

X 796 Wherefore he arrived first; and they laid out offer-
252 ings for him. They offered him *huh* amaranth seed, ground and made into a ball of dough.

First, they roasted [the maize], and broke the grains upon an earthen plate, and then ground it upon a stone. And when they had ground it, then they moistened it with water. Some they moistened with honey. They fashioned mayhap five, mayhap four balls [of this paste], and filled a wooden vessel

Inic cempoalli on matlactli oce capitulo: ineihpa tlatoa in ilhuitl, yuan in nextlaoalitli; in mochiuaia, in jpā vel ic cemilhuitl, injc matlactetl on ume metztli: in motocaiotiaia, Teutl eco.

Injc matlactetl on ume ilhuitl: ieheuatl in motocaiotia, Tetl eco:

in ic ihuh tlamacuijlti, njmā vncan vmpeoa in acxoiatemalo: in acxoiatl, ieheuatl in acuel, ẽci in quiļpiuia; çan ieheuantin in telpopochtin quitemaia, novian in momoztco, in cioatcucalco, yuan in novian techachan, in vncan pipiolo in jmjxiptlauan diablome:

auh in techachā novian oacxoiatemaia, quinoalmaca, aço cen chiqujuhxintli in tlaolli, anoço cintli, nacoltol: in cana ieolotl: in cenca motolinja, omoleui in cintli quiçaltemaca: moteneoa, cacalutl ca quimocalhujaia in telpopochti: auh aiac çan nẽ mocalhujaia, can ieheuantin injmel, in tlacelianj, in tlamocuitlavianj, in cochicanj, in amo tlatlacaneçuijnj in jmel.

Auh in ie ic ieilhuitl acxoiatemalo: iquac hero in telpochtli, itoca Tlamatzincatl, oaliacattivia, ieheuatl achto heco: ipampa in oaliacattivia, ca oc telpochtli, oc chicaoac, tlaçanj, cotze:

ipampa in achio oalaci, yuan quitlamanjliaia: in quinoanjliaia, mjchioeuheli, in tlapololli:

achtopa quicoqui, quitzomotza comalco, çatepan quituci: auh in oquitzeque, çatepā quipolooia, atica: cequj necutica, in quipolooia: aço macuilteti, aço

1. *Teoco hexo—Los dioses llegan*, in Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 80. Chevigny, *op. cit.*, p. 145, refers to mention on in the form de la venida de los dioses. The spelling "Teti eco" is in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. See note 3, p. 79. In Cap. xxxiv (Pomponiotitli), Sahagún explains that "*por causar Xochiua cubrir verdor y esplandor de aquesta*," and, in Cap. xxv (Izcalliotzintli), "*dizuda en Anahuac cubrir verdura cuerpos cubrir verdor en lugar de seruicio*."

3. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 114) explains that "*Cenalo celebrauan ceremonias a honrra de estos dioses en todos los barrios donde hallo dos calles; los cruzes llamauan cinacruzcalli, o por otro nombre cihuacruzcalli, en estas ceremonias ponian los ydolos de estos dioses. . . .*" Chevigny, (*loc. cit.*) says: "*ceremonias los templos y las encrucijadas de las calles.*" Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

4. *Oloni* is meant progressively corn cob. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 33; however, he usually renders it centzon xxx.

5. "*Cuerno, o tenazuela . . . para cozer granos de mayz tostado cual conviene*" (Molina, *op. cit.*). Sahagún has the term *apolololli*.

6. These names are synonyms for Tezcatlipoca.

[796] came down from the top of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli, [which was] above. When he had come down, then he went direct to [the place] called the [346] god's ball court.[9] Here they slew four victims—two [honoring the god] Amapan, two [honoring the god] Uapatzan.[10] When they had slain them, he then dragged them about the ball court. [It was] as if he painted it with their blood.

obuchtli: in ocaltemoc, mec tlamelaoa, in motenecoa Teutlachco: vncan quimõmjctia navintin: vme amapan, vme vappafzan: in oquimõmjcti, mec qujnvivilana, tlachco: iuhqujn ic tlatlacujloa imezço.

And when this was done, then [the priest bearing the figure of Paynal] fled thence, being made to hasten greatly.[11] He proceeded to Tlatilulco, and then he went straight to Nonoalco. Here there received [778] him [the priest bearing the image of the god] named Quauitl icac, the helper and elder brother [of Paynal].[12] His adornment was similar [to that of Paynal], but he was covered with chalk.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec oaleoa, cenca qujmotlalochtia, vncan qujça in Tlatilulco, njmã ic tlamelaoa nonooalco: vncan cantiqujça itoca Quavitl icac, itepalevicauh, itiacauh: canno iuhquj in jnechichioal, tel çan ie motiçaoaoan:

And when [the latter] had erected [Paynal], then [both] departed; they circled about to Tlaxotlan. Thereupon they went straight to Popotlan. There also they quickly slew victims—very swiftly.

auh in oconantiqujz, mec vi, vmpan ommocolos tlaxotlan: njmã ie ic ontlamelaoa popotlan: no vncã ontlamjctitiquiça, çan iciuhca:

Then once more they went [on], straight to Chapoltepetl, passing before it. And when they came to the river bank, at a place name Izquitlan, also at this place they speedily slew a victim. He whom they slew was named Izquitecatl.

njmã oc ceppa ontlamelaoa, chapoltepetl ixpan qujça: auh in oacito atoiac, itocaiocan Izqujtlan: no vncan ontlamjctitiquiça, in conmjctia, itoca Izqujtecatl:

Then they set forth, hastening over to Tepetocan; when already at the outskirts of Coyoacan, they then went direct to Maçatlan. Here turning back, they then went straight to Acacninanco.

mec vi, vncã quiztiquiça in tepetocan, ie coioocã caltenco, mec oallamelaoa, maçatlan, vncã oallacoloa: njman ic qujoalmelaoa in acachinanco.

And when they had reached Acachinanco, then stopped the rolling up of the paper. These began to roll up the paper when Paynal began to follow his path.

Auh in oacico acachinanco, njmã ic mocaoa in tlaamavia: in iehoãtin tlaamavia, iquac peoa, in jquac vmpeoa, vtlatoca Paynal.

And as for the rolling of the paper: The bathed ones remained in one separate group; those of Uitznauac remained in [another] group. [These latter] [714] a number of warriors aided. Moctezuma gave them armor jackets of yellow cotton, and shields [painted with] wolf eyes. Only pine staves lay in their hands.

Auh injc tlaamaviaia; in tlatlaaltilti, nonqua manj: in vitznaoa nonqua manj, qujmpalevia cequjntin tiacaoan: qujnmacaia in Motecuçoma ichcavipilli, coztic, yoan chimalli, cujtlachixxo: çan ocoquavitl in immac oonoc.

And [the warriors] who aided those of Uitznauac [bore] spears with which they battled and which they cast. And the bathed ones met them with only bird [441] arrows, which they shot, with flint points. Verily, battle was joined; truly, [some] were slain.

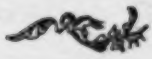
Auh in vitznaoa qujmpalevia tlatzontectli injc tlaiecoa in qujtlaça: auh in tlaaltilti qujnnamjquj, çan totomjtl in qujtlaça, iacatecpaio, vel iauiotl in muchioaia, vel mjcoaia.

9. According to Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 282, the four slaves were sacrificed in a ball court (*tezcalacho*)—not in the *barrio* of the same name. Two had previously been sacrificed in the *barrio* of Tezcatlacoco.

10. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 210) apparently does not regard Amapan and Uapatzan as gods. See, however, corresponding Spanish text.

11. Though the Nahuatl text describes the movements of Paynal, it was actually a priest, who carried the figure of the god. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "*Luego descendio en estrapa, con gran priesa troyendo en los braços, la estatua de paynal, encarne de Vitzilopuchtli.*" This priest was dressed in the trappings of Quetzalcoatl, according to Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 282).

12. "*Alli le salio a recevir, el estrapa de aquesl en, con la ymagen del dios Quauitlyxar*" (corresponding Spanish text).



Behold [here] a true [relation] of all [the temples] which were the temples of the Mexicans.

[In] the [great] square of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, all was thus, [as followeth]:

It appeared to be perhaps two hundred fathoms [square]. And here, in the center [of the square], were very large temples, which were the temples of demons. The one which was tallest, of greatest height, was the house of Uitzilopochtli, or Tlacauepan Cuexcochtzin. This one was very large, very tall.

And this one was in the middle [of the square]. And with it was the house of Tlaloc. Both were together, side by side. And at the very top, [one] stood a little high[er]—perhaps by [as much as] a fathom.

[Of] both of these, [one] was taller, rising higher; only they were quite similar. And at the top of each was a temple; at the top was a house.

Here was the image of Uitzilopochtli, also named Ilhuicatl Xoxouhqui. And in another [house], there was the image of Tlaloc.

And also at the top [of the pyramids] were circular stones, very large, named *techcatl* [offering-stones], upon which they slew victims. Thus they paid honor to their gods. And the blood—the blood of those who died—reached the base, flowing thence. All were thus in all the temples which were of the devils.

And this temple of Uitzilopochtli and of Tlaloc faced the setting of the sun. And its stairway was very wide. It reached up to the top, whereby all ascended. And for all the temples there were stairways; all were alike. Very straight was its stairway.

Tlalocan, the Temple of Epcoatl.

At Tlalocan all fasted in honor of the Tlalocs when they observed [their] feast. And when all fasted, then evil things were done and vicious. All danced [bearing] dried maize stalks. And there was dancing in all the houses. It was said, the dance of maize and beans was danced. And when the feast of the Tlalocs ended, thereupon died those who were set apart, and

Ixcatqu] in jnelacoca, in ixqujch catca inteucal mexica.

In jtoal catca vitzilopuchtli, in jxqujch ic catca:

in juh motta, aço matlacpovalmatl: auh in vncan yitic, cenca vevei in teucalli mamanca, in jnteucal catca diablome: in oc cenca tlapanaviticatca, in veixticatca, ielioatl in jcal catca Vitzilopuchtli, anoço tlacavepan cuexcochtzin: iehoatl in cenca vei catca, cenca vecapan.

Auh inju, nepantla in jcaca: auh nevan manca in jcal catca tlaloc, vel nehoan manca, vel netech çaliuhtimanca: auh in ie vel icpac, achi veca motzticatca: aço cemmatica.

Inj vnteixti y, oc cenca tlapanaviticatca, oc cenca veveixticatca, çan vel nenevixticatca: auh in jcpac cecentetl teucalli, in jcpac manca calli:

vncan catca in jxiptla vitzilopuchtli, no yoan itoca ilhujcatl xoxouhquj: auh in oc ceenj, vmpa catca in jxiptla tlaloc:

auh no ioan in jcpac, vncan mamanca tetl ioaltic, cencá vevey, quitocaiotiaia techcatl, in jpan tlamjctiaya: injc quinmavixtiliaia inteuhoan: auh in eztli, in jmeszço in mjquja, vel valacia in tlatzintlan, injc valtotocaia: muchi inhquj catca, in jxqujch inteucal catca diablome.

Auh in iehoatl in jteucal vitzilopuchtli, ioan tlaloc: vmpa itztimanca in jcalaqujian tonatiuh: auh in jtlamamatlaio, cenca patlavac: vmpa aciticatca in jcpac, in vncan tlecovaia: ioan in ie ixqujch in teucalli catca, muchiuhquj catca: cenca vel melavatica ca in jtlamamatlaio

Tlalocan, itzupan epcoatl.

In tlalocan: vncan netlalocaçanaloia, in jquac ilhujuhqujçaia: auh in onneçanaloc, njman ie ic aiectilo, ioan nenviltilo, netotilo, yca cintopilli: auh novian in calpan mjtotiaia: mjtoaia, etzalmaceoaloia. Auh in jquac oonquja imjlhujuh, in tlatlaloque, njman ie ic miquj in vncan pouhque in mjtoaia

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who were called Tlaloca. And this was done once yearly.

Maculcalli, and Maculquiauitl.

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Here, in this place, here died the informers, those who imparted secrets which they had discovered to those who were not dwellers here—the Tlaxcalteca, or the Uexotzinca, or the Cholulteca, who entered the fortifications here in Mexico; who bore information hence.

And if they escaped, if they went forth taking information, these Tlaxcalteca, or Uexotzinca, or Cholulteca, and all who had entered the fortifications then would emplace [themselves], and thus wait [in ambush] for the Mexicans. And when the Mexicans came there, great numbers would die at that place.

And if [the informers] were noted here in Mexico, then [the Mexicans] laid hands upon them and slew them, hacking them limb from limb, here at Macuilcalli or Maculquiauitl.

Tecciscalli.

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Tecciscalli: here Moctezuma himself did penances and offered incense. And here dues were paid [to the gods]. And fasts were observed at the time of the great feasts. And then were slain, and died, the captives.

Poiauhtlan.

Poiauhtlan: here fasted Mexico's fire priest and the fire priest of [the Temple of] Tlalocan, once yearly, at [the feast of] Etzalqualiztli. They offered incense at Poiauhtlan. And here were slain, and died, the captives.

The Skull Frame[8] of Mixcoapan.

The Skull Frame of Mixcoapan: here they strung up the severed heads of those who died in the Temple of Mixcoatl.[9]

tlatlaloque. Auh inin cexiuhtica in machiuhtivia ipan

Macujlcalli, ioan macujlqujaviil.

In vncan yn, vncan mjquja in tetlanenque: in quimjlhujaia tetzauhtlatoque, in amo njcan chaneque, in tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço chololteca, in valiaucalaquja njcan mexico: in quivalcuja tlatolli.

Auh intla ovelquiaque, intla oconcujco tlatolli, in iehoantin tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço cholcIteca, yoan in ye ixquich valiaucalaquja: njman ic tlateca, injc quinchia mexica: auh in jquac onvi mexica, cenca mjec in vmpa ommjquja.

Auh intla oittoque njcan mexico: njman quintzitzquiaia, ioan quinmjctiaia, quintetequja: in vncan macujlcali, anoço macujlqujavitl.

Tecciscalli.

In tecciscalli: vncan tlamaceoaia in iehoatl motecuçuma, vncan tlenamacaia: ioan vncan mortlavaia. Auh çan iquac in vncan moçauaia, in vevey ilhujtl quiçaia: yoan vncan mjcovaia, vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

Poiauhtlan.

In poiauhtlan: vncan moçauaya in mexico tlenamacac, ioan in tlalocan tlenamacac: ceziuhtica, ipan in etzalqualiztli: nehoan vncan tletemaia in poiauhtlan: ioan vncan mjcovaia vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

Mixcoapan tzumpantli.

In mjxcoapan tzumpantli: vncan quiçoia in jntzontecon, in mjquja mjxcoatempan.

8. Actually the severed heads were strung on the skull racks, and then allowed to decompose.
9. Probably Mixcoatepan was intended for *Mjxcoatempan*.

Tlalxicco.

Tlalxiccó: here died he who was named [and who was arrayed in the manner of] Mictlan Tecutli. Each year he died upon the feast of Titiil. And when the impersonator of Mictlan Tecutli died, then the Fire Priest of Tlillan offered incense. And this was done only by night, not by day.

Tlalxicco.

In tlalxiccо: vncan mjquja, in jtoca catca Mjctlan tecutli: cexiuhtica in mjquja, ipan in titiil quiçaia. Auh in onmjc in jxiptla mjctlan tecutli: njman vncan vallenamacaia, valletemaia, in tlillan tlenamacac. Auh inju nuchiosia: çan iooan, amo ennjlhujtl. 796 X 346

Uey Quauhxicalco.

Uey Quauhxicalco was Moctezuma's place of penance. Here, when there was fasting, one said it was the fasting for the sun. And every two hundred and three days there was a fast for the sun. And also here died they who were named Chachanme—only four [of them]; and here died [he who was the] likeness of the sun-[god] and of the moon-[god]. And likewise many captives died here. And this [occurred only] when fate so decreed.

Vey quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco, itlamaceoaian catca in Motecuçuma: iquac in vncan moçauaia, mjtoaia: netonatiuhçaualoia: auh mamatlacpovalti... vmeitica in juh nuchiuaia, in netonatiuhçaualoia. Auh ioan vncan mjquja: in mjtoaia, chachanme: çan nauintin: yoan vncan mjquja in jxiptla tonatiuh, ioan metztli: auh ioan cenca mjiequjn in mamalti, vncan mjquja. Auh ynja, çan tepan itiuh. [785]

Tochinco.

Tochinco: here died [he who was the] likeness of [One tochtli], once yearly, during the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tochinco.

In tochinco: vncan mjquja in jxiptla tochinco, cecexiuhtica: ipan tepeilhujtl.

Teotlalpan.

Teotlalpan. Here was made a procession yearly, when the feast of Quecholli arrived. And when the procession was made, then they departed for Çacatepec. And when they reached it, then all hunted [game]. And Moctezuma then rewarded [the successful hunters]. And when he had rewarded [them], then he returned; no longer did he stay there. Likewise [the huntsmen] then all departed; no longer did they remain here, [but] departed for Mexico; and they took a different road. Verily, many men went to the Çacatepec.

Teotlalpan.

In teotlalpan, vncan tlaiaualoiaia, cecexiuhtica: iquac in quecholli quiçaia ilhujtl. Auh in onnalaiaualoloc: njman ie ic vmpeoa in çacatepec: auh in onaxivac, njman ie ic aujoa: auh in motecuçuma, njman vmpa onmocuitlauaia: auh in onmocuitlauh, njman ye ic valpeua: ayocac vmpa onmocaoa. Çan no yvi injc vilooaia, aioc noiac njcan mocaultivia in mexico: yoan oiecac vtli quijoaia: vel mochi tlacatl vmpa via in çacatepec.

Tlilapan.

Tlilapan: here were bathed the five priests—at night only, and often. And when they had bathed, thereupon they cast incense into the fire and offered

Tlilapan.

In tlilapan: vncan nauhtin in tlenamacaque, çan iooaltica: ioan nuchiqa. Auh in jquac onmoaltique: njman ie ic tletema, tlenamaca, in vmpa mjtoaapan

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it there at the Temple of Mixcoatl. And when they had offered incense, then they went to the priests' dwelling.

trupan: auh in ontlenamacaque, njman ie ic huj in calmecac.

Tlillan Calmecac.

Tlillan Calmecac: here dwelt the priests of Ciuacoatl.

Tlillan calmecac.

In tlillan calmecac: vncan onoca, in jtepixcauh cihoacoatl.

Mexico Calmecac.

Mexico Calmecac: here dwelt the priests who offered incense at the summit of the [pyramid] Temple of Tlalocan. [This they did] daily.

Mexico calmecac.

In mexico calmecac: vncan onoca in tlamacehque, in ontlenamacaia tlalocan ijcpac: çan mumuztlac.

Coacalco.

[148] Coacalco: here dwelt the gods of cities which, in all places which the Mexicans overran, they took captive. They then carried them back and shut them in here. And here they were guarded at Coacalco.

Cooacalco.

In cooacalco: vncan onoca in altepetetcu, in canjn ontepeoaia mexica, in qujmonacia: njman qujnvalvicaia, vncan qujncalaqujaia: ioan vncan pialoia in cooacalco.

Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: here he cast incense into the fire whose name was Yiopoch; and here blew his flute the demon whom they named Titlacauan. And when he had sounded [his flute], then he offered incense. And when he had cast incense, then he went in[to his dwelling]. Every day he did this, perchance by night, or [perchance] by day.

Quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan tletemaia yn jtoca cauca yiopuch, yoan vncan vallapitzaia in diablo: in qujtoaia titlacauan: auh in ontlapitz, njman ye ic tletema: auh in ontleten, njman ic calaquj: çan mumuztlac iuh qujchioua, aço iocan, anoço cemjlhujtl.

A Separate Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: here danced the impersonator [who was arrayed as a] squirrel. And here was erected that which was called the *xocotl*, which was only a tree. And they distributed its paper garlands and paper banners [with which the *xocotl* was bedight]. And they did this during the feast of Teotl eco, and also once a year.

Oc cenj quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan mjtoaia in techalotl yxiptla: yoan vncan moquetzaia, in mjtoaia: xocotl, çan quavitl, yoan qujtlamamacaia, yamanacapan, yamapan. Auh ipan in teutleco muchioaia: no ceximhtica.

Teccalco.

Teccalco: here were men cast into the fire; here they cast captives into the flames. Only during [the

Teccalco.

In teccalco, vncan netlepantlaxtia: vncan qujntlepantlaçaia in mamaltin: çan no ipan in teutl eco

feast of] Teoti eco was this done, and also yearly. And when they had cast men into the fire, then the priests came down, and then they [performed the ceremony of] pricking paper with thorns.

muchioaia, no cexiuhtica. Auh yn onnetlepantlaxoc: njman ye ic oaltemo in tlamacazque, njman ye ic amatlavitzoa.

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The Skull Frame.

The Skull Frame: Here they strung up the severed heads of the captives whom they had cast into the fire, who had died there at the Teccalco. Likewise this was done yearly.

Tzumpantli

In tzumpantli: vncan quĵçoia in mamaltin intzontecon, in quiotlepantlaçaia, in vmpa mjquja teccalco: çan no cexiuhtica yn muchioaia.

The Temple of Uitznaoac.

The Temple of Uitznaoac: here died those named the Centzonuitznaoa; and many [more] were the captives who here died. And upon [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli was this done, and [it was done] yearly.

Vitznaoac teucalli.

In vitznaoac teucalli: vncan mjquja, in jntoca centzonvitznaoa, yoan mjec malli vncan mjquja: auh ipan in panquetzaliztli muchioaia, yoan cexiuhtica.

Tezcacalco.

Tezcacalco: here captives were slain and died, only when fate so decreed—not every year.

Tezcacalco

In tezcacalco: vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: çan tepan yetiuh, amo cexiuhtica.

Tlacochcalco Acatl Yiacapan.

Tlacochcalco Acatl Yiacapan: here were guarded the spears and arrows. Also here captives were slain and died. And it was only by night that they were slain, and only at times when it was wished [that they should be slain].

Tlacochcalco acatl yiacapan.

In tlacochcalco acatl yiacapan: vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: auh çan iooan in mjcooaia, yoan çan molnamjquja yn jquja.

Teccizcalco.

Teccizcalco: likewise here were slain and died captives—only by night, also only when it was their fate, when it was the whim [of the priests].

Teccizcalco.

In teccizcalco: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: çan no iocaltica, çan no tepan yetiuh, çan molnamjquja.

Uitznepoualco.

Uitznepoualco: here the priests, those who did penances, scattered the thorns; or else the green boughs, when they did penances in various places.

Vitznepoualco

In ,yitznepoualco: vncan quitcpeoaia in tlamacazque in ja tlamaceoaia, in vitztli: anoço acxoiatl, yn jquac canjn ontlamaceoaia.

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Priests' House at Uitznauac.

Priests' house at Uitznauac: here dwelt the priest, the fire priest, who offered incense and who cast it upon the fire in the temple above [on the pyramid], which was named Uitznauac. Every day was this done.

Vitznaoac calmecac.

In vitznaoac calmecac: vncan onoca in tlamaceuhquj, in tlenamacac: in ontlenamacaia, in ontletemaia in teucalli icpac: in jtoca catca vitznaoàc: çan mumuztlac in juh muchioaia.

A Separate Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: at this place they placed and raised a skull-frame in the center [of the pyramid compound of him] whose name was Omacatl; who was carved in wood, taking human form—[this] Omacatl. And it came to pass that they nourished him [with the blood of captives] every thirteen days, upon the day-sign of Omacatl.

Oc cecnj quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan qujtlaliaia, vncan qujxcaltiaia in tzumpantli yiollo: in jtoca catca vmacatl, quavitl tlaxixintli, tlacaiectiuh in vmacatl: auh in muchioaia in qujxcaltiaia matlacpovaltica vmeitica: ipan in cemjlhujtonalli vmacatl.

Temple of Macuilcipactli.

Temple of Macuilcipactli: here were men slain; here captives died—at night only, and only those chosen for the day-sign [of Macuilcipactli].

Macujlcipactli yteupan.

In macujlcipactli iteupan: vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti: çan ioaltica, çan no tonalpepenaloia.

Priests' House at Tetlanman.

Priests' House at Tetlanman: at this place dwelt the fire priest, he who was devoted [to the service of Quaxolotl Chantico].

Tetlanman calmecac

In tetlanman calmecac: vncan onoca in tlenamacac, in tlamaceuhquj.

Temple of the White Cinteotl.

Temple of the White Cinteotl: here captives died—only those who were leprous.[10] And when they died, then [the priests] buried them; they were not eaten. They died upon the feast of the Fasting for the Sun.

Iztac cinteutl yteupan.

In jztac cinteoutl yteupan: vncan mjquja in mamalti, çan ichoantin in xixijoti: auh in jquac ommjcque, njman qujntocaia amo qualoia: ipan in netonatiuhçavaloia mjquja.

Tetlanman.

Tetlanman: here died [she who was the likeness of] Quaxolotl Chantico. [This came to pass] only when the lords determined; only when it was fated. And [it took place] during the day-count of ce xochitl.

Tetlanman.

In tetlanman: vncan mjquja, yn jxiptla quaxolotl chanticon: çan qujlnamjquja in tlatoque, in jquin mjquja: çan tepan yetiuh: auh ipan in cemjlhujtlapoalli, ce xuchitl.

10. In translation of [illegible], we here follow Sahagún, although elsewhere our translation of this word differs. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Temple of Chiconecatl.

Temple of Chiconecatl: only at certain times were men slain as a sacrifice, and [they were slain] at night. Like [the impersonator of Quetzalcoatl Chantico, they were slain] only when it was fated and determined [that they should be slain], when the day-count of ce xochitl reigned.

Chiconecatl yteupan.

In chiconecatl yteupan: çan quenman in vncan mjcoaia, yoan iocaltica: çan no tepan ietiuh, çan molnamjquja: yquac in cemjlhujtlapoalli ce xuchitl moquetza.

Tetzaapan.

Tetzaapan: here were bathed the priests, in their bathing-place.

Tetzaapan.

In tetzaapan: çan vncan maltizia, innealtiaian catca in tlamaceuhque.

Tetzatlachco.

Tetzatlachco: here was slain a man as a sacrifice; here died he who was the likeness of Uitznauatl. Only at times—not often [—was this done]; perchance during [the day-count of] Omacatl.

Tetzatlachco.

In tetzatlachco: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in jxiptla vitznaoatl: çan quenman, amo muchipa: aço ipan in vmacatl.

Skull Frame.

Skull Frame: here were offered as sacrifices those named the Omacame [arrayed in the likeness of Omacatl]. And also many captives here died. And every two hundred and three days they were slain.

Tzompantli.

In tzompantli: vncan motonaltiaia, in jntoca catca vmacâ: auh yoan, cenca mjec in malli vncan mjquja: auh matlacpoaltica vmeitica in ommjcoaia.

Tlamatzinco.

Tlamatzinco: here died those called and named the Tlamatzinca [arranged in the likeness of Tlamatzincatl]—ceremonially bathed captives, when [it was the month of] Quecholli at its close, yearly.

Tlamatzinco.

In tlamatzinco: vncan mjquja in mjtoaia, in jntoca catca tlamatzinca, in tlaaltiti: iquac in quecholli, itlamjan cexiuhtica.

The Priests' House at Tlamatzinco.

The Priests' House at Tlamatzinco: here lived the Tlamatzinca, fire priests who offered incense at the top [of the pyramid of] Tlamatzinco.

Tlamatzinco calmecac.

In tlamatzinco calmecac: vncan onoca, in tlamatzinca intlenamacacahoan: in ontlenamacaia ijcpac tlamatzinco.

Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: to this was brought down the sacrificial paper,[11] and the fire serpent was last of all to

Quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan oaltemoia in teteuhpoalli, auh ça oallatzacujaia in xiuhcoatl oaltemoia: ioan

11. See Chapter xxxiv, n. 16.

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be brought down [from the temple above]. And here were burned the blood offerings when, each year, the Tlamatzinca [arrayed as the god Tlamatzincatl] died.

Temple of Mixcoatl.

Temple of Mixcoatl: here were slain the deer [people]. And when they bore them up, their heads bobbed up and down, and four [priests] carried them up. And here died the impersonator of Mixcoatl, and [she in the likeness of] Cuetlaciuatl. And this was done upon the feast of Quecholli tlami, and [was done] yearly.

Netlatiloian.

Netlatiloian: here was laid away that which was named the likeness of Nanauatl and Xochquaie.[12]

Teotlachco.

Teotlachco: here died those named Amapantzin [in the likeness of the god Amapan]. They died only at dawn. And [this was done] yearly, at the feast of Panquetzaliztli.

Ilhuicatitlan.

Ilhuicatitlan: here died the impersonator of the [morning] star, at night, only. And very many captives died by day. Yearly was this done, when the star appeared.

The Great Skull Frame.

The Great Skull Frame: here also were slain as sacrifices very many captives, who here died: by day, not by night. [This was done] likewise at the feast of Panquetzaliztli, also yearly.

Mecatlan.

Mecatlan: here was a place of teaching; here were taught the sounders of trumpets, those who dwelt in

vncan tlatlaia in nextlaoalli, in jquac mjquja tlamatzinca cexiuhtica.

Mixcoatepan.

In mjxcoatepan: vncan maçapolioaia: auh ynjc quintlecaviaia in maçapolivia, çan aaquetztivia, quinnauhcaviaia: yoan vncan mjquja in mjxcoatl y ixiptla, yoan cuetlacihoatl: auh ipan in quechulli tlamj muchioaia, yoan cexiuhtica.

Netlatiloian.

In netlatiloian: vncan motlatiaia, in jtoca catca nanauatl y ixiptla, ioan xochquaie.

Teotlachco.

In teotlachco: vncan mjquja in intoca catca amapantzitzin, çan tlahujtpan in ommjquja: auh cexiuhtica, ipan yn panquetzaliztli.

Ilhujcatitlan.

In jlhujcatitlan: vncan mjquja in jxiptla citlalin, çan iooaltica: auh cencan mjec in vncan mjquja mamalti cemjlhujtl: cexiuhtica in muchioaia, ipan in citlalin qujçaia.

Vey tzompantli.

In vey tzompantli: no vncan mjcovaia, cenca mjequjn in vncan mjquja mamalti, cemjlhujtl, amo iooan: çan no ipan in panquetzaliztli, no cexiuhtica.

Mecatlan.

In mecatlan: vncan nemachtiloia, vncan momach-

12. Cf. corresponding Spanish text, which identifies this as the cave in which were deposited the skins of victims flayed in the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli. See also Sahagún (Kobuesko ed., Vol. III, p. 251) for statement.

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the Mecatlan. Frequently, each day, [they sounded trumpets].

tiaia in tlapitzque, in mecateca: çan muchipa mumuztlac.

Temple of Cinteotl.

Temple of Cinteotl: here died the impersonator of Chicome coatl, a woman; by night, only. And when she died, then they flayed her. And when dawn broke, the fire-priest then put on the skin of [her who was the likeness of] Chicome coatl. Thereupon they circled and wound about the eagle vessel, dancing as they went. And this was done yearly, upon the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Cinteupan.

In cinteupan: vncan mjquja in jxiptla chicome coatl, cioatl, çan iooaltica: auh in jquac oommjc, njman quixipeoaia: auh in otlachujc, in tlenamacac njman commaqujaia, in coaio chicome coatl: njman ye ic tlaiaoaloa, qujiaoaloa in quauhxicalli, mjtotiuh: auh cexiuhtica in muchioaia, ipan ochpaniztli.

Temple of the Centzontotochtin.

Temple of the Centzontotochtin: here died [they who were named] Tepoztecatl, and Totoltecatl, and Papaztac. And when they died, it was not by night but by day, upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl. And [this was done] yearly.

Centzontotochti inteupan.

In centzontotochti inteupan: vncan mjquja in tepoztecatl, yoan totoltecatl, yoan papaztac: auh in mjquja amo iooan, cemjlhujtl, ypan in tepeilhujtl: auh cexiuhtica.

Temple of Cinteotl.

Temple of Cinteotl: here stood, and was guarded, the image of Cinteotl. Here died the impersonator of Cinteotl, by day.

Cinteupan.

In cinteupan: vncan ycaca, vncan pialoia in jxiptla cinteoutl: vncan mjquja in jxiptla cinteoutl, cemjlhujtl.

Netotiloian.

Netotiloian: here danced the ceremonially bathed captives [of the day-sign] Chiconauhecatl, when they were about to die. And when they died, it was at midnight, not by day. [This took place] upon the feast of Xilomanaliztli or Atl caualo, also yearly.

Netotiloian.

In netotiloian: vncan mjtotiaia in tlatlaaltilti, in chicunauhecatl, in jquac ie mjquja: auh iquac in mjquja iocalnepantla, amo cemjlhujtl: jpan xilomanjztli, anoço atl caualo: no cexiuhtica.

Chililico.

Chililico: here died the ceremonially bathed ones [of the day-sign] Chiconauhecatl, at midnight. And each year did the ceremonially bathed ones die here. And only the chiefs then ceremonially bathed them. Likewise at the feast of Atl caualo [was this done].

Chililico.

In chililico: vncan mjquja in tlatlaltilti in chicunauhecatl, iocalnepantla: auh cexiuhtica in vncan mjquja tlatlaltilti: auh çan tlatoque in vncan tealtiaia, çan no ipan in atl caualo.

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Coaapan.

Coaapan: here bathed the first priest of Coaapan. He alone did so; none else bathed here.

Coaapan.

In coaapan: vncan maltiaia in coatlan tlenamacac, çan qujmjtcaviaia, aiac oc ce vncan maltiaia.

Pochtlan.

Pochtlan: here dwelt the fire priests who cast into the fire and offered incense up there above, [on the pyramid, at] the Temple of Yiacatecutli. [This they did] daily.

Pochtlan.

In pochtlan: vncan onoca in tlenamacaque, in ontletemaia, in ontlenamacaia, vmpa jicpac yiacatecutli iteupan: çan mumuztlac.

Atlauhco.

Atlauhco: here stayed and lived the fire priests who laid the fire and offered incense above [on the pyramid at] the Temple of Uitzilinquatec. Likewise [this was done] every day.

Atlauhco.

In atlauhco: vncan onoca, vncan nenca in tlenamacaque, in vmpa ontletemaia, ontlenamacaia, in ijcpac vitzilinquatec yteupan: çan no mumuztlac.

Iopico.

Iopico: here men were slain as offerings; here very many captives died. And here died he whose name was Tequitzin and Mayauel; who died by day, not by night. And he died during the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli; and [this was done] each year.

Iopico.

In iopico: vncan mjcovaloia: in vncan, cenca mjiequjntin mjquja in mamalti: yoan vncan mjquja in jtoca catca tequjtzin, yoan maiavel: auh in mjquja cemjlhujtl, amo iooan: auh ipan in tlacaxipeoaliztli mjquja, yoan cexiuhtica.

Temple of Yiacatecutli.

Temple of Yiacatecutli: here died he who was [arrayed as] the likeness of Yiacatecutli, by day—not by night. [This was done] at the feast of Tititl, also each year.

Iyacatecutli iteupan.

In yiacatecutli iteupan: vncan mjquja in jiacatecutli ixiptla: cemjlhujtl, amo iooan: ipan in titítl, no cexiuhtica.

Temple of Uitzilinquatec.

Temple of Uitzilinquatec: likewise here died she who was [arrayed as] the likeness of Uitzilinquatec. Likewise she [was slain] by day, and, likewise, during the feast of Tititl. Also was this done yearly. [It was] a woman who died.

Vitzilinquatec iteupan.

In vitzilinquatec iteupan: çan no vncan mjquja, in ijxiptla vitzilinquatec: çan no cemjlhujtl, çan no ipan in titítl, no cexiuhtica in muchioaia: cioátl in mjquja.

The Priests' House at Yopico.

The Priests' House at Yopico: here were slain as offerings and died very many captives. [This was

Iopico calmecac.

In iopico calmecac: vncan mjcooaia, vncan mjquja cenca mjec in malli: çan no iocaltica, ipan in tlacaxi-

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done] also at night during the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli, and also every year, here at the dwelling of the priest, the Youallauan.

peoaliztli: no cexiuhtica, vncan icalmecac in iooallaoan.

The Skull Frame at Yopico.

The Skull Frame at Yopico: Here they strung up the severed heads of captives and of those whom they slew in gladiatorial sacrifices at the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli. [This] also [they did] yearly.

Iopico tzompantli.

In yopico tzonpantli: vnca quiçoia in intzontecon mamalti: auh yehoantin in quinoaoanaia ypan tlacaxipeoaliztli: no cexiuhtica.

Skull Frame.

[This] skull frame was the Skull Frame of [the Temple of] Yiacatecutli. And here they strung up the severed heads of captives who died upon the [pyramid] top of the Temple of Yiacatecutli, upon the first day of Xocotl uetzi.

Tzompantli.

In tzompantli, ytzompan in jiacatecutli: auh vncan quiçoia yn intzontecon mamalti, yn jcpac mjquja yiacatecutli yteupan: ipan yn cemjlhujtlapoalli xocotl vetzi.

Temple of Macuilmalinalli.

Temple of Macuilmalinalli and of Topantlacaqui. Here [priests] sang for, and offered sacrifices to, these [gods], Macuilmalinalli and Topantlacaqui. And they placed offerings before them every two hundred and three days. [This they did] only as the fates provided, upon the first day of [the day-sign] xochitl.

Macujlmalinal yteupan.

In macujlmalinal yteupan, yoan in topantlacaquj yteupan: vncan qujncujcatiaia, yoan vncan qujntonaltiaia in yehoantin macujlmalinal, yoan topantlacaquj: auh in qujntonaltiaia matlacpoaltica, omeytica: çan no tepan ietiuh: in cemjlhujtlapoalli, ipan in xochilhujtl.

Aticpac.

Aticpac: here [priests] offered sacrifices to the Cinateteo, when they observed the feast of the day-sign Chicuace coatl.

Aticpac.

In aticpac: vncan qujntonaltiaia in cioateteu: yquac in qujlhuja chicomeccoatonalli.

Netlatiloian.

Netlatiloian: here they laid away the skins [flayed from the women who had impersonated] the Cinateteo, who died at the Xochicalco each year, during the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Netlatiloian.

In netlatiloian: vncan qujntlatiaia in cioateteu imeoaio, in vmpa mjquja xochicalco: cexiuhtica, ipan ochpaniztli.

Atlauhco.

Atlauhco: here they offered sacrifices to the goddess Cinteotl, of Atlauhco. And [she who was orna-

Atlauhco.

In atlauhco: vncan qujntonaltiaia, in atlauhco, cioateotl: auh in ommjquja atlauhco cioateotl,

mented in the likeness of] Ciuateotl of Atlauhco died there at Coatlan, at the base [of Atlauhco. This was done] yearly, also during the feast of Ochpaniztli.

vmpa in cooatlan tlatzintlan: cexiuhtica, çan no ipan in ochpaniztli.

The Priests' House at Tzonmolco.

The Priests' House at Tzonmolco: from here came the fire, which they named Xiuhtecutli. Here Moctezuma took the fire when he offered incense, and here [the new fire] fell from the fire drill. [This was done] each year at the feast of Uauhquiltamalqualiztli.

Tzonmolco calmecac.

In tzonmolco calmecac: vncan quiçaia in tletl, in quitocaiotiaia xiuhtecutli: vmpa concuja in tletl, in jquac tlenamacaia motecuçoma, yoan vncan vetzia in tlequavitl: cexiuhtica, ipan oauhquiltamalqualiztli.

Temalacatl.

Temalacatl: here were offered up gladiatorial sacrifice victims. Those here offered up in the gladiatorial sacrifice were a great number of captives. And thus were offered up in the gladiatorial sacrifice indeed all men [who] came from the lands about us, whom they slew as offerings there upon the stone of gladiatorial sacrifice. And for this he who had charge of them was the wolf man, who placed them on the gladiatorial stone. And when he had put the captive in his place, thereupon he offered him the pine chib and he gave him a feathered staff. And then went one arrayed as an eagle or an ocelot to belabor him. He then struck [down] the captive, as if he warred against him. And here was he who was charged with the care [of the captive]; his name was Chalchiuhtepeua. And when the captive fell, thereupon the wolf man dragged him off, and [the priests] slashed open the breast of the captive. And he who slew him was named Youallauan; he opened [the captive's] breast. And when he slashed open the breast of the captive, thereupon they cast him down below. And this was done each year at the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Temalacatl

In temalacatl: vncan tlaoaoanoia, in vncan quinoaoanaia, cenca mjequintin in mamalti: auh injc tlaoaoanoia, vel inquich tlacatl oal: ja in cematonaoac in oallamjctiaia, in vncan temalacac: auh vncan intequippan catca in cuetlachtli, ontequetzaia in temalacac. Auh in jquac oconquetz malli: njman ye ic conmaca in ocotzontetl, yoan conmaca quavitl tlapotonjlli. Auh njman ye iauh in teixiptla, in tevivitequjz: aço quauhtli, anoço, ocelutl: njman ie qujvivitequj in malli, iuhqujn moiauchioa: yoan, vncan itequippan catca, yn jtoca chalchiuhtepeua. Auh in jquac ovetz malli: njman ye ic tevilana in cuetlachtli: njman ye ic quelitequj in malli: auh in ieuatl tlamjctiaia in jtoca catca Iooallaoan, teeltequja. Auh in jquac oconelitecoque malli: njman ye ic tlatzintlan qujoallaça: auh in muchioaia, yn, cexiuhtica ypan in tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Temple of Nappa tecutli.

Nappatecco: here died [the impersonator] whose name was Nappa tecutli, at night, not by day. [This happened] each year, during the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Nappa tecutli itevpan.

In nappatecco, vncan mjquja yn itoca catca, nappa tecutli çan iohoan, amo cemjlhujtl: cexiuhtica ipan tepeilhujtl.

Tzonmolco.

Tzonmolco: here died four named [and arrayed as] Xiuhtecutli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecutli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecutli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecutli. And others named Iuipapaneca temilolca [were also slain]. And she who was named Ciuatontli, and also [she who was] named Nanoztlaceuhqui, [likewise] died, [having] their breasts [slashed open].

And when they were slain, thereupon came Moctezuma forth then to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced a princely dance, and all chiefs danced. Moctezuma led them; he led [priests arrayed as] all the various gods. And when all had danced, when all had danced the serpent dance, thereupon Moctezuma offered incense [to the gods].

And this was done upon the feast of Izcalli, once yearly.

Coatlan.

Coatlan: here died those who were named the Centzonuitznaua, perchance at the time of the fire drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, at the end of the feast of Quecholli.

Xochicalco.

Xochicalco: here died [they who were arrayed in the likeness of] the White Cinteotl and of the Red Cinteotl; and also that one [impersonating the goddess] Atla tonan.

And when Atla tonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire-priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced—he stood wearing the skin of Atla tonan. And this was done yearly, at the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Yopicalco and Euacalco.

Yopicalco and Euacalco: here stayed the leading men from Anauac, who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moctezuma honor them. Here he gave them gifts; he gave them rich mantles, or precious necklaces, or costly arm bands. Whatever was of value, he gave to all of them.

Tzonmolco.

In tzonmolco. vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecutli naujntin. Jnjc ce ytoca, xoxouhquj xiuhtecutli. Jnjc vme coçauhquj. Jnjc ey iztac xiuhtecutli. Jnjc nauj tlatlauhquj xiuhtecutli: yoã oc cequjntin intoca, ihujpapaneca, temjlolca: auh tlaelpanmjquja, yn jtoca catca cioatontli, no iehoatl ytoca nancotlaceuhquj.

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oalquiça, in Motecuçoma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan ixquich tlacatl mjtotia, teiacanaia in motecuçoma, qujniacanaia, in nepapã teteu. Auh yn onnetotiloc yn onnecococololoc, njmã ie ic tlenamaca yn motecuçoma:

auh in muchioa yn, ipan incalli cexiuhtica.

Coatlan.

In coatlan, vncan mjquja in jntoca catca centzonvitznaoa: aço yquac in tlamamalioaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhtica.

Xochicalco.

In xochicalco, vncan mjquja in jztac cinteotl, yoan tlatlauhquj cinteotl, yoan no iehoatl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oommjc atla tonan: njman ye ic qujxipeoa: auh in jquac oconxipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaqujaia yn jieoaio.

Auh in jquac otlathujc: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaquiiicac in jieoaio atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, cexiuhtica, ipan in ochpanjztli.

Iopicalco, yoan euacalco.

In iopicalco, yoan euacalco, vncan onoca in ananac tlatoque, in veca altepetl ipan oalvia:

auh cenca qujnmaviztiliaia in Motecuçoma, vncan qujndiuhciaia: qujnmacaia in tlaçotilmatli, anoço tlaçocouacatl, anoço tlaçomacuextli: in ie ixquich tlaçotli, muchi qujnmacaia.

Tzopalatl.

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The Yellow Waters were very precious. The waters flowed [as a spring]; here the servants of the gods took water. And when they celebrated the feast of Uitzilopochtli, and when they celebrated each feast, here water was drunk. Here the common folk drank water.

Tzopalatl.

In tzopalatl, cenca tlaçoeli catca, mciaia: vncan atlacuja in tlamacazque. Auh in jquac ylhujuh quiçaia vitzilopuchtli: yoan yn ixquich ilhujtl muchioaia, vncan atlioaloia: vncan atlia in macoualti.

Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac.

Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac: here was [the god] whose name was Macuiltotec. Here a feast was celebrated in his honor. And when they observed the feast day of Macuiltotec, here men were slain as sacrifices [to him]. Captives died here at Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac.

[372] Perchance it was when the fire drill was used [for the new fire]; perchance at another time. Likewise this was done yearly, at the feast of Panquetzaliztli, or at the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Tlacochcalco quauhqujaoac.

In tlacochcalcó quauhqujaoac, vncan catca in jtoca macujltotec: vncan ilhujqujxtililoia. Auh in jquac yn jlhujuh quiçaia in macujltotec. vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti in tlacochcalco quauhquijaoac:

aço yquac in tlamamalioaz, acanoçomo: no cexiuhtica in muchioaia, ipan in panquetzaliztli, anoço tlacaxipeolaiztli.

Tolnauac.

Tolnauac: here were men slain in sacrifice. Here captives died; perchance [when the day sign] ce miquiztli came in the day count.

Tulnaoac.

In tulnaoac, vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti, aço ce mjquiztli moquetza in tonalpoalli catca.

Tilocan.

Tilocan: here cooked [the dough of amaranth seed for] the image of Uitzilopochtli.

Tilocan.

In tilocan: vncan ycucia in vitzilopuchtli ijxiptla.

Itepeioc.

Itepeioc: here took form [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

Itepeioc.

In itepeioc: vncan tlacatia in vitzilopuchtli.

The Tribal Temple of Uitznauac.

The Tribal Temple of Uitznauac: here was made, and here they molded in man's form, the image of the demon whose name was Tlacauepan Cuecuechtzin.

Vitznaoac calpulli.

In vitznaoac calpulco, vncan muchioaia, vncan tlacatia in ijxiptla diablo, in jtoca catca tlacauepan cuecuechtzin.

Atempan.

Atempan: here they assembled the [child sacrifices called] "Human Banners." And when they had gathered them together, thereupon they carried them in procession; they carried them upon litters.

And when they had carried them in procession, then they dispersed them. Perchance they left them at Tepetzinco, in the middle of the lagoon, or at Quauhtepec, above Yiauhqueme.

Atenpan.

In atempan, vncan quintecpichoaia in tlacateuhti: auh in jquac in oquintecpichoque: njman ye ic quintlaiacalochtia, quintlapechvia.

Auh in jquac oquimontlaiacalochtique: njman ye ic quinmoiaca, aço atlitic tepetzinco quimoncaoaia, anoço quauhtepec, yiauhqueme ijcpac.

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Texcacoac Tlacochcalco.

Texcacoac Tlacochcalco. When there were very many captives, sometimes they were slain here. And here were kept the spears and the arrows to be used in conquests.

Texcacoac tlacochcalco

In texcacoac tlacochcalco: vncan mjcoaia, çan quemman, yquac in cenca mjec malli: yoan vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: ynjc tepeoaloya.

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Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli.

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli: here they gathered together [the slaves] for the Tlaloca. And when they had assembled them all, then they here slew them.

And when they had slain them, then here they cut them in pieces, and cooked them; they put squash blossoms with their flesh.

And when they had cooked them, then the nobility, and all the important men ate [the stew]; but not the common folk—only the leaders.

Acatl yiacapan vei calpulli.

In acatl yiacapan vey calpulli, vncan qujcenquixtiaia in tlatlaloque: auh in jquac oquicenquixtique, njman vncan qujnmjctiaia:

auh in jquac in oquimonmjctique, njman vncan quintetequja, yoan qujnpacaoa, caiouchquilhujaia in jnnacaio.

Auh yn jquac oquinpaoazque: njman quiquaia in pipilti, in jxquich tecutlatoque: amono iehoantin in macenalti, ça yehoantin in tlatoque.

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Techielli.

Techielli: here were placed fir branches.[13]

Techielli.

In techielli: vncan acxoiatemaloia.

The Tribal Temple.

All the small houses which stood around the temples were called *calpulli*. Here men fasted.

And only the noblemen, the leading men, those who instructed noblemen's sons in war, the chieftains, here fasted, every twenty days.

[Of this,] it was said: "All men fast five days."

And when the fasting took place, five days hence

Calpulli.

In ie muchi caltzonti in tlaiacalotoc, ican qujiacalotoc teucalli: in mjtoaia calpulli, vncan neçaoloia:

auh çan iehoantin in pipiltin, in tlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque vncan moçavaia, cempoualtica,

mjtoaia: nemácujlçacalaia.

Auh in jquac moçaoaia, oc iuh macujlilhujtl quj-

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13. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún says that they gathered reeds (*cañas*).

the feast was to be celebrated. And only when the feast day came was there fasting.

And thus was the fasting: [thus] did they abstain from food: some ate at midday, [fasting] until past midnight; and some, when they ate at midnight, thereupon went past midday [fasting]. Thus they proceeded mortifying themselves.

And they fasted for the space of five nights—not by day but by night. And every time night fell, then they went within [the *calpolli*]. And when day broke, they went forth and performed their tasks.

Daily they thus did, until they had spent five days. And not then did they lie with women.

çan ilhujtl: auh çan ypan in jlhujtl quiçaz moçaoaia:

auh injc mocaoaia, tlaqualizcaoaia: cequintin tlaquaia nepantla tonatiuh, izquichica onaci iocalnepantla: auh in cequintin ypuac tlaquaia in iocalnepantla, no ypuac onaci in nepantla tonatiuh: çan iuh mopatlatiuh.

Auh in moçaoaia macujlioual, amo cemjlhujtl, çan iocan: auh in jpuac ie iouh, njman calaquj: auh in otlathujc, valquiçaia, tlatequipanoaia:

mumuztlac iuh quichioaia, injc onaci macujlihujtl: yoan ayocmo cioacochin.

Third Chapter, which tells—in which is related —[the story of] Quetzalcoatl, who was a great wizard;[1] and of the place where he ruled,[2] and of what he did when he went [away].

This Quetzalcoatl they considered a god. They all adored him as a god. He was prayed to in olden times there at Tula.[3]

And there was his temple, [which was] very tall and high; lofty and towering. Very many [were its] steps, extending in a multitude, and not wide; but each one, in truth, was very narrow. On each step, the sole of one's foot could not be extended.

There, it is said, he lay; he lay covered; and he lay with only his face covered. And, it is said, he was monstrous.

His face [was] like a huge, battered stone, a great fallen rock; it [was] not made like that of men. And his beard was very long—exceedingly long. He was heavily bearded.

And the Toltecs, his vassals, were highly skilled. Nothing that they did was difficult [for them]. They cut green stone, and they cast gold, and they made other works of the craftsman and the feather worker. Very skilled were they. These started and proceeded from Quetzalcoatl—all craft works and wisdom.

And there stood his green stone house, and his golden[4] house, and his coral house, and his shell house, and his house of beams, his turquoise house, and his house of precious feathers.

And [for] his vassals the Toltecs, nothing with which they dealt was [too] distant. Very quickly they could arrive whither they went. And because they were fleet, they were named *tlanquacemilhuime*.[5]

Injc Ey capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in jtoloca in Quetzalcoatl in vej nacalli catca: in canjn tlatocac, yoan in tlein quichiuh iquac ia.

In ichoutl, in quetzalcoatl: iuhqujma teutl ipan qujmatia, netetuliloia, teumachoia, in iqujn ie veznuh, in vmpa tullian.

auh in vncã onoca in iteupan, cenca vecapã, cenca quauhtic, ixtechiquauhtic, ixtechivecapan, cenca miec in itlamamatlaio, vel tecpichaubtoc, amo papatlaoac, çan pitzatoton, amo vel cece zocpalli, vmpan onoca

qujl çan tlapachiuhtoca, çan ixtlapachiuhtoca, yoan quil atlacacemelle catca:

in ixaiac iuhqujn tetecujnpol, tehtlanipol, hamo tlatlacaiocoia. auh in itentzon cenca viac, cenca vitlatzic, tentzonpachtic,

auh in tolteca, in imacxoalhoan, cenca mjmatia, atle ovi in quichioaia, in quitequja chalchivitl, yoan tetecujtlapitzaia, yoan quichioaia, in oc cequj toltecaiutl in amantecaiotl, cenca vel mimatia vel itech peuhtica, vel itech quiztica, in Quetzalcoatl in iuquich in toltecaiotl, in nemachtli,

yoan onicaca ichalchiuhcal, yoan itecucujtlacal, yoan itzpachcal, yoan itecczizcal, yoan ioapalcal, ixiuhcal, yoan iquetzalcal.

auh in imacxoalhoan, in toltecs hucan in veca quichioaia, vel iciuhca acitivetziia in campa via: auh injc cenca totocaia motocaiotiaia, tlanquacemilhujme,

1. *Nanalli*. Garibay (*op. cit.*, pp. 170, 171) translates the term as above, but suggests three possibilities for precise understanding of the word: (1) if *nanal* is the root, a wizard-quadruped is implied; (2) if the root is *nahuall*, *nahuala* (an archaic verb surviving in compositions), then the meaning is close to magician or prestidigitator, or—following Molina (*cf. nahualtequi, nahualtlatia, nahualtlatlia*, etc.)—to fool; (3) if the root is the Maya *na*, *nan*, *ezna*, then the meaning approximates wisdom, science, magic. Garibay favors the second possibility.

2. Sahagún (*Biblioteca Mexicana*, p. 269, n. 1) corrects *in campa ya in quemia*. This is perhaps more logical.

3. *Ax a dalay*. Quetzalcoatl was wind god and priest god. (Sahagún: *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 38), or morning star god, god of life, of the morning (Cline: *op. cit.*, p. 18). See also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, pp. 2-3.

Possibly the most coherent account of Quetzalcoatl as the priest-chief of Tula is in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlán*, of which the best edition is Walter Lehmann's *Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (Stuttgart und Berlin: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), and Primo Feliciano Velázquez's, in *Códice Chimalpopoca*. According to this source (pp. 42, 43ff., in Lehmann's *Geschichte*, and pp. 11ff. in Velázquez's *Códice*), he reigned at Tula for one or twenty years following A. D. 873, having been born thirty years earlier of Chimalman, widow of Tenoch, who died A. D. 894. (See *supra*, Chap. I, n. 4.) Chimalman is said to have conceived a great vision, and from it to have conceived. See also Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

4. *Tzoncalli*: gold or silver, according to Rémi Simeon, *op. cit.* Specifically, *tzoncalli cuecuelitl* (*or xuel cuepanjqui*) is gold, and *tzoncalli tlaltic* is silver. Cf. Molina (*op. cit.*, Spanish-Mexican section).

5. Those who walked the whole day without living, according to Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 114.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590)1954
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Page from Florentine Codex (Chapter 6)

[p. 36(b)]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan cata altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yaquican omoztlauha yn tepeticpac, yoā atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, ycceyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

Ca y iehoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque cata yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamacayouh vncan tentiuh yaquallí ychoutl im piçietl tlanelolli tlilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoā xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoā ocotl, yoā quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, yoan tecucintli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço cenetziz yuhca viya. 793 [705] [281] [276 415]

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yn iquac yn cacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimā yc ypcā moztlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoztlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitzitiuitze ye tlatuinamac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Glaubenswelt der Alt-Azteken und ihre Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 188, says of the horn trumpet: "Da es im Tone dumpfigen Jammerns, der den Totenkult trägt, wohl an sich zum Prunken Anlaß." The term *tlamaxaquitia* he translates (ibid., p. 161), "*schlimm wie mit einer Schnur.*"

787 A second omen came to pass here in Mexico: quite of its own accord fire broke out in the house of the demon Uitzilopochtli, and flared greatly. No one had set fire to it; only of itself it burst into flames. It was called Itepeyoc,[4] at the place named Tlacateccan. When [the fire] appeared, already the [335] squared, wooden pillars were flaring; from within them[5] emerged the flames, the tongues of fire, the blaze [which] speedily ate all the house beams. Thereupon there was an outcry; [the priests] said: "O Mexicans, hasten here to put out [the fire! [415] Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they cast water upon it, when they sought to smother it, all the more did it flare. It could not be put out; it all burned.

● [346] A third omen: a temple was struck by a thunder bolt. It was only a straw hut, a place called Tzonmulco, Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was raining not heavily; it only sprinkled, so that it was considered a bad omen. For, it was said, there was a mere[6] summer flash; nor did thunder sound.

A fourth omen: there was yet sun when a comet fell. It became three parts. It departed from where the sun set and traveled toward where he came forth. As if sprinkling live coals, [so] its tail went extended a great distance. Far did its tail reach. And when it was seen, great was the uproar; like [the din of] shell rattles [the outcry] was overspread.[7]

A fifth omen: the water [of the lake] foamed up. No wind stirred it up. It was as if the water swirled, as if it boiled up with a cracking sound. Very far [731] did it go, as it rose upward. And it reached the bases of the houses, and flooded them, and crumbled the houses.[8] This was the great lake which stretcheth about us here in Mexico.[9]

A sixth omen: often a woman was heard [as] she went weeping and crying out. Loudly did she call out at night. She walked about saying: "O my

Injc vntetl tetzavitl muchiuh, njcan mexico: çan monoonavi in tlatlac, cuetlas, aiac ma qujtlecavi, çan monoma tlecavi in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli: mjtoaia, iteioc itocaiocan Tlacateccan: in nex ie tlatla in tlaquetzalli, in jtec, oalqujcv in tiemjiaoatl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecueçalutl, cenca çan iciuhca conpalo in itzqujch calquavitl: njnan ie ic tlacaoaca, qujtoa. Mexicae ma vallatotoca, tla cevilos, amaapîlol: auh in jquac caatequjaia, in qujcevizneçuja, çan ie illujce mopitza, aocmo vel ceuh, vel tlatlac.

Injc etetl tetzavitl: viiecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzûmulco: iteupan in xiuhtecutli, amo tilaoaia, çan aoachqujavia in juh tetzammachoc: iuh mjtoa in ça çan tonalhujtecoc, amono caqujztic in tlatlatzinjliztli.

Injc nauhtetl tetzavitl: oc vnca in tonatiuh in xivitl vetz ietetetia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaqujampa; auh vmpa itztia in jquiçaianpa, iuhquj in tlesuchtli pipixauhtiuh, veca mocujtlapiltitiuh, veca acitiuh in jcujtlapil: auh in oitoc cêca tlacaoacac, iuhqujn oiovalli ômoman.

Injc macujltetl tetzavitl: poçon in atl, amo iehecatl qujpoçonalti, iuhqujn momomoloca, iuhqujn xixittemomoloca, cenca veca in ia, injc macoquetz: auh in calli tzirzintla cacic, auh capapachiuh, xixitin in calli: iehoatl in vei âtl totlan manj njcan mexico.

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzavitl: mjecpa ciouatl cacoia chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioaltica cenca tzatzi; qujtotiezmj. Nonopilhoantzitzin, ie ic çan ie tonvi: in

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4. Probably Itepeyoc is meant for Intier. See Chapter 19 of this Book; also Memoriale en 3 columnas, in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún — Historia de las cosas de Nueva España (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906), VII, p. 93; Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España (Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938) I, pp. 215, 229; and Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — The Conquerors, p. 161.

5. Book VIII of the Florentine Codex has this in a similar passage. In the Real Palacio MS it reads: ynic ȳ mohuiya.

6. Cf. gan oppum in loc. cit.

7. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book VIII — Kings and Lords, p. 10, n. 5.

8. In the Real Palacio MS, this passage reads: "auh ȳ calli mixtlatlalo cequi chok cuej' papachhuh cequi xixitin."

9. In loc. cit., manj is followed by "chok yuic tenamaq yuic cuecuel yā no cenqui ya ȳ cenqui cuecuelo ȳ cuy ayāpan."

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7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

53. Tribute left for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

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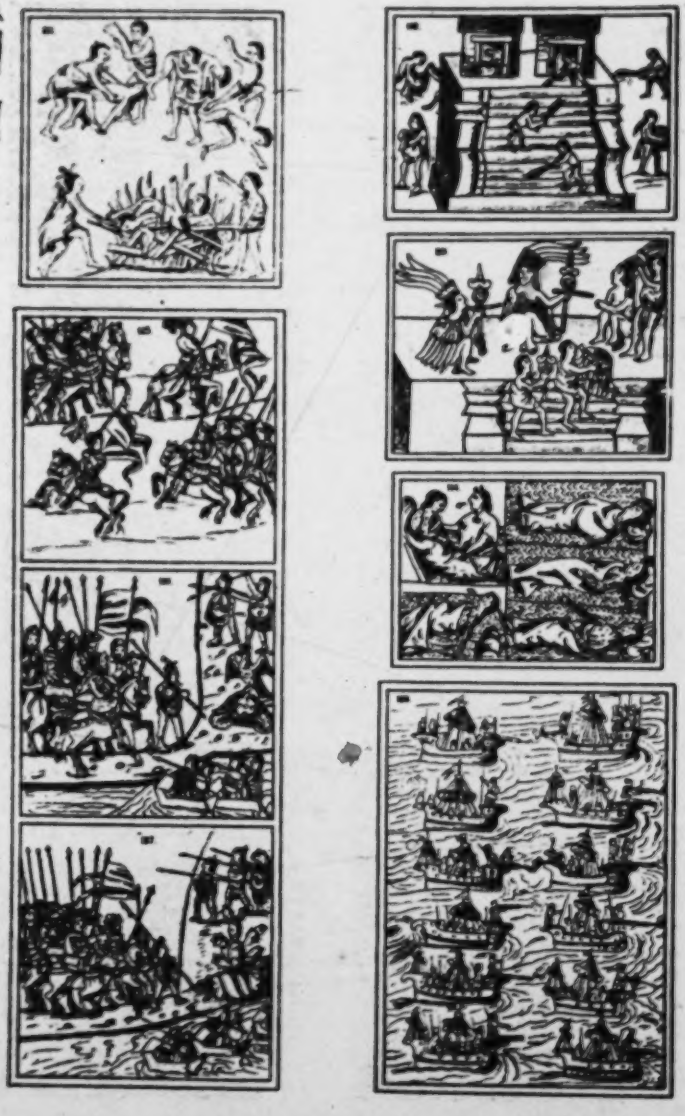

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

111. Burning of bodies of Mexicans slain in battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27). 112, 113. Refurbishing of a temple in Tenochtitlan on the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 28). 114. Smallpox plague (Chapter 29). 115-117. Return of the Spaniards to attack Tenochtitlan (Chapter 29). 118. Spanish brigantines (Chapter 30).

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648 settled. And as they went marching, the common folk set out shouting war cries after them, but from a distance.

Then they stopped at Aztaquemecan, at the base and foot of Mount Aztaquemecan. There, below, they rested, at a place called Çacamulco. Also above was a rounded hill, where likewise there was an Otomí temple.[1] There they went to quarter themselves. Likewise it was abandoned to them. No more did the common folk draw near to them; but everywhere the houses remained quiet. They had abandoned the houses in haste.

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njman ic onmotlalito in Aztaquemecan: icxitlan itzintlã in ichoatl tepetl Aztaquemecã, in vncan motlalique tlatzintlan: itocaiocan çacamulco, no ihcpac, ololtontli in tepetl: no vncan icac otomitecalli, oncan in ẽnocaltemato, çan no inpan macuh aocmo inpan aciso in macenalkin, çan noviian cactoc in calli, cacactivetz in calli.

1. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmaro ed.), IV, p. 78.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

two distinct regions, for, as the map shows, they are separated by various other provinces. One other page includes more than a single province, but there the provinces represent contiguous territories.[109] Here we are concerned with half the page: the province of Malinalco, which is shown on the left-hand side of the original and at the top of the copy. This province, containing two towns, is now a tiny segment of the State of Mexico, southeast of the Nevado de Toluca. The *Matricula* bears both names, written above the glyphs in roman letters, and disagrees with the *Mendocino* in regard to one form. The present map is based on that of the "Estado de México" in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; the names of the towns as given in the atlas appear below, compared with those of the *Mendocino:*

MENDOCINO	ATLAS
Malinalco, 1	[No change]
Çonpahuacā, 2	Zompahuacan

No towns have been added from other sources, although the subject towns of Malinalco in the sixteenth century are known and probably represent the old jurisdiction.[110]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çonpahuacan is given as "Tzonpanco" in the *Matricula* annotation. The glyph may be read either way; the name of the modern town, however, confirms the *Mendocino* version.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Malinalco was a great religious center. It is only recently that the temple there has been excavated. This is a complex structure cut from the living rock, unique in the New World, and in the Old World rivaled by only a few such structures in India. A shrine, entered through a semicircular arch—the open mouth of a stone serpent—is one of the spectacular features of these ruins, which may have been dedicated to the native Military Orders of the Eagle and Tiger Knights. The culture represented in the ruins of Malinalco

[109] I.e., the huge provinces of eastern Guerrero given on p. 18 of the *Matricula* and on fol. 40r of the *Mendocino*.

[110] *FNE*, 1: No. 346.

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is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[108] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[109] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[110] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen[**] [291]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[*111] [262]

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[108] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monuments arqueológicos de Malinalco ...," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[109] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tesanzingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el *Ocuiteca*, de difícil comprehencion para los estraños."

[110] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[111] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

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panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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Hak. Soc. Ser. II. XXIV. To face p. 16.

CHOLULA.

The foundation mound of the Great Temple, now surmounted by a Christian Church.

Photo by A. P. Maudslay.

[facing p. 6]

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797 They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

361 241 273 I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others, so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they make their wine. They make very good pottery in the city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain.

323 438

346 At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

002 I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

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reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Teules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

I think that the curious reader must be already satiated hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly."—G. G.

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600 excepting the southern edge round Mixcuic, and is now one vast maize field.

Zochimilco is reduced to a swamp traversed by many water-ways and the water from its springs is being utilized for the supply of drinking water to the City. Texcoco alone remains, in a shrunken condition, and no further drainage of its waters is contemplated, as the evaporation from its surface is one of the main factors contributing to the equable climate of the valley.

THE CITY OF MEXICO.

361 The two towns of Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco appear to have risen side by side, each retaining control of its own local affairs, until the time of Axayacatl, the sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan (1473), when, after a fierce battle in the streets of the City, Tlaltelolco was conquered, its chiefs killed, and it became a part of the City of 361 Tenochtitlan. It is, however, this growth of the City in two distinct ● 346 parts that accounts for the existence of the two centres of religious worship, the great teocalli of Tenochtitlan with its surrounding courts and temples (where the Cathedral of Mexico now stands), and the still larger and more important teocalli of Tlaltelolco and the adjacent temples, courts, and priests' houses, etc., which are so fully described by Bernal Díaz in the text.

361 The following quotation is from the writings of the "Anonymous 363 Conqueror," who himself beheld Mexico in the days of Montezuma:—

"The great city of Temistan (Tenochtitlan), Mexico, has and had many wide and handsome streets; of these two or three are the [501] principal streets, and all the others are formed half of hard earth like a brick pavement, and the other half of water, so that they can go out along the land or by water in their boats and canoes which are made of hollowed wood, and some are large enough to hold five persons. The inhabitants go abroad some by water in these boats and others by land, and they can talk to one another as they go. There are other principal streets in addition, entirely of water which can only be traversed by boats and canoes, as is their wont, as I have already said, for without these boats they could neither go in nor out of their houses.

342 "And this is the fashion of all the other towns which I have said are situated on the fresh water part of this lake. There were, and still are, in this City very handsome and fine houses belonging to the chieftains, so large and with such offices (*Estancias*), dwelling rooms, and gardens both above and below that they are wonderful to behold. I entered the house of a principal lord more than four times on purpose to see it, and I always walked about until I was tired, and I never managed to see the whole of it. It was the custom to have near the entrance of all the Lords' houses very large halls and offices around

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231 136 *Quezales*, and there are other birds which have feathers of five colours—green, red, white, yellow and blue; I don't remember what they are called; then there were parrots of many different colours, and there are so many of them that I forget their names, not to mention the beautifully marked ducks and other larger ones like them. From all these birds they plucked the feathers when the time was right to do so, and the feathers grew again. All the birds that I have spoken about breed in these houses, and in the setting season certain Indian men and women who look after the birds, place the eggs under them and clean the nests and feed them, so that each kind of bird has its proper food. In this house that I have spoken of there is a great tank of fresh water and in it there are other sorts of birds with long stilted legs, with body, wings and tail all red; I don't know their names, but in the Island of Cuba they are called *Ypiris*, and there are others something like them, and there are also in that tank many other kinds of birds which always live in the water.

[346] Let us leave this and go on to another great house, where they keep many Idols, and they say that they are their fierce gods, and with them many kinds of carnivorous beasts of prey, tigers and two kinds of lions, and animals something like wolves which in this country they call jackals and foxes, and other smaller carnivorous animals, and all these carnivores they feed with flesh, and the greater number of them breed in the house. They give 782 them as food deer and fowls, dogs and other things which they are used to hunt, and I have heard it said that they feed them on the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed. It is in this way: you have already heard me say that when they sacrifice a wretched Indian they saw open the chest with stone knives and hasten to tear out the palpitating heart and blood, and offer it to their Idols 782 266 in whose name the sacrifice is made. Then they cut off

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off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days. [324 262] [325 415]

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were already approaching its great courts, before leaving the market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging. 436 [443]

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamanca, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place. 346● [364]

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

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346 down from above, where he was making his sacrifices, six priests and two chieftains to accompany our Captain. On ascending the steps, which are one hundred and fourteen in number, they attempted to take him by the arms so as to help him to ascend, (thinking that he would get tired,) as they were accustomed to assist their lord Montezuma, but Cortés would not allow them to come near him. When we got to the top of the great Cue, on a small plaza which has been made on the top where there was a space like a platform with some large stones placed on it, on which they put the poor Indians for sacrifice, there was a bulky image like a dragon and other evil figures and much blood shed that very day.

361 When we arrived there Montezuma came out of an oratory where his cursed idols were, at the summit of the great Cue, and two priests came with him, and after paying great reverence to Cortés and to all of us he said: "You must be tired, Señor Malinche, from ascending this our great Cue," and Cortés replied through our interpreters who were with us that he and his companions were never tired by anything. Then Montezuma took him by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water, and the many other towns on the land round the lake, and that if he had not seen the great market place well, that from where they were they could see it better.

So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico, that is the causeway of Iztapalapa by which we had entered four days before, and that of Tacuba, along which later on we fled on the night of our great defeat, when Cuitlahuac[1] the new prince drove us

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

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it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

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of the oratory were so splashed and encrusted with blood that they were black, the floor was the same and the whole place stank vilely. Then we saw on the other side on the left hand there stood the other great image the same height as Huichilobos, and it had a face like a bear and eyes that shone, made of their mirrors which they call *Tezcat*, and the body plastered with precious stones like that of Huichilobos, for they say that the two are brothers; and this Tezcatepuca was the god of Hell and had charge of the souls of the Mexicans, and his body was girt with figures like little devils with snakes' tails. The walls were so clotted with blood and the soil so bathed with it that in the slaughter houses in Spain there is not such another stench.

They had offered to this Idol five hearts from that day's sacrifices. In the highest part of the Cue there was a recess of which the woodwork was very richly worked, and in it was another image half man and half lizard, with precious stones all over it, and half the body was covered with a mantle. They say that the body of this figure is full of all the seeds that there are in the world, and they say that it is the god of seed time and harvest, but I do not remember its name, and everything was covered with blood, both walls and altar, and the stench was such that we could hardly wait the moment to get out of it.

They had an exceedingly large drum there, and when they beat it the sound of it was so dismal and like, so to say, an instrument of the infernal regions, that one could hear it a distance of two leagues, and they said that the skins it was covered with were those of great snakes. In that small place there were many diabolical things to be seen, bugles and trumpets and knives, and many hearts of Indians that they had burned in fumigating their idols, and everything was so clotted with blood, and there was

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346 so much of it, that I curse the whole of it, and as it stank like a slaughter house we hastened to clear out of such a bad stench and worse sight. Our Captain said to Montezuma through our interpreter, half laughing: "Señor Montezuma, I do not understand how such a great Prince and wise man as you are has not come to the conclusion, in your mind, that these idols of yours are not gods, but evil things that are called devils, and so that you may know it and all your priests may see it clearly, do me the favour to approve of my placing a cross here on the top of this tower, and that in one part of these oratories where your Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca stand we may divide off a space where we can set up an image of Our Lady (an image which Montezuma had already seen) and you will see by the fear in which these Idols hold it that they are deceiving you."

776 Montezuma replied half angrily, (and the two priests who were with him showed great annoyance,) and said: "Señor Malinche, if I had known that you would have said such defamatory things I would not have shown you my gods, we consider them to be very good, for they give us health and rains and good seed times and seasons and as many victories as we desire, and we are obliged to worship them and make sacrifices, and I pray you not to say another word to their dishonour."

783 When our Captain heard that and noted the angry looks he did not refer again to the subject, but said with a cheerful manner: "It is time for your Excellency and for us to return," and Montezuma replied that it was well, but that he had to pray and offer certain sacrifices on account of the great *tatacul*, that is to say sin, which he had committed in allowing us to ascend his great Cue, and being the cause of our being permitted to see his gods, and of our dishonouring them by speaking evil of them, so that before he left he must pray and worship.

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Then Cortés said "I ask your pardon if it be so," and then we went down the steps, and as they numbered one hundred and fourteen, and as some of our soldiers were suffering from tumours and abscesses, their legs were tired by the descent. 346

I will leave off talking about the oratory, and I will give my impresions of its surroundings, and if I do not describe it as accurately as I should do, do not wonder at it, for at that time I had other things to think about, regarding what we had on hand, that is to say my soldier's duties and what my Captain ordered me to do, and not about telling stories. To go back to the facts, it seems to me that the circuit of the great Cue was equal to [that of] six large sites,[1] such as they measure in this country, and from below up to where a small tower stood, where they kept their idols, it narrowed, and in the middle of the lofty Cue up to its highest point, there were five hollows like barbicans, but open, without screens, and as there are many Cues painted on the banners of the conquerors, and on one which I possess, any one who has seen them can infer what they looked like from outside, better that I myself saw and understood it. There was a report that at the time they began to build that great Cue, all the inhabitants of that mighty city had placed as offerings in the foundations, gold and silver and pearls and precious stones, and had bathed them with the blood of the many Indian prisoners of war who were sacrificed, and had placed there every sort and kind of seed that the land produces, so that their Idols should give them victories and riches, and large crops. Some of my inquisitive readers will ask, how could we come to know that into the foundations of that great Cue they cast gold and silver and precious chalchihuites and seeds, and watered them with the human

[1] Solares. Solar is a town lot for house building.

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●346 blood of the Indians whom they sacrificed, when it was more than a thousand years ago that they built and made it? The answer I give to this is that after we took that great and strong city, and the sites were apportioned, it was then proposed that in [the place of] that great *Cue* we should build a church to our patron and guide Señor Santiago, and a great part of the site of the great temple of Huichilobos was occupied by the site of the holy church, and when they opened the foundations in order to strengthen them, they found much gold and silver and chalchihuites and pearls and seed pearls and other stones. And a settler in Mexico who occupied another part of the same site found the same things, and the officers of His Majesty's treasury demanded them saying that they belonged by right to His Majesty, and there was a lawsuit about it. I do not remember what happened except that they sought information from the Caciques and Chieftains of Mexico, and from Guatémoc, who was then alive, and they said that it was true that all the inhabitants of Mexico at that time cast into the foundations those jewels and all the rest of the things, and that so it was [212] noted in their books and pictures of ancient things, and from this cause those riches were preserved for the building of the holy church of Santiago.

Let us leave this and speak of the great and splendid Courts which were in front of the [temple of] Huichilobos, where now stands [the church of] Señor Santiago, which was called Tlaltelolco, for so they were accustomed to call it.

I have already said that there were two walls of masonry [which had to be passed] before entering, and that the court was paved with white stones, like flagstones, carefully whitewashed and burnished and clean, and it was as large and as broad as the plaza of Salamanca. A little way

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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

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793 The hair
[302] of these priests was very long and so matted that it could not be separated or disentangled, and most of them had
[304] their ears scarified, and their hair was clotted with blood.
●346 Let us go on; there were other Cues, a little way from where the skulls were, which contained other Idols and places of sacrifice [decorated] with other evil paintings.
[585] And they said that those idols were intercessors in the marriages of men. I do not want to delay any longer
[342] telling about idols, but will only add that all round that great court there were many houses, not lofty, used and occupied by the priests and other Indians who had charge of the Idols. On one side of the great Cue there was another much larger pond or tank of very clear water dedicated solely to the service of Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, and the water entered that pond through covered
[883] pipes which came from Chapultepec. Near to this were other large buildings such as a sort of nunnery where many of the daughters of the inhabitants of Mexico were sheltered like nuns up to the time they were married, and
[585] there stood two Idols with the figures of women, which were the intercessors in the marriages of women, and women made sacrifices to them and held festivals so that they should give them good husbands.

I have spent a long time talking about this great Cue of Tlaltelolco and its Courts, but I say that it was the greatest temple in the whole of Mexico although there were many others, very splendid. Four or five parishes or districts possessed, between them, an oratory with its Idols, and as they were very numerous I have not kept count of them all. I will go on and say that the great oratory that they had in Cholula was higher than that of Mexico, for it had one hundred and twenty steps, and according to what they say they held the Idol of Cholula to be good, and they went to it on pilgrimages from all parts of New Spain to obtain absolution, and for this reason they built for it such

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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a splendid Cue; but it is of another form from that of Mexico although the courts are the same, very large with a double wall. I may add that the Cue in the City of Texcoco was very lofty, having one hundred and seventeen steps, and the Courts were broad and fine, shaped in a different form from the others. It is a laughable matter that every province had its Idols and those of one province or city were of no use to the others, thus they had an infinite number of Idols and they made sacrifices to them all.

After our Captain and all of us were tired of walking about and seeing such a diversity of Idols and their sacrifices, we returned to our quarters, all the time accompanied by many Caciques and chieftains whom Montezuma sent with us. I will stop here and go on to say what more we did.

CHAPTER XCIII.

How we made our Church and altar in our quarters and placed a Cross outside the chamber, and what else happened, and how we found the hall and treasure chamber of Montezuma's father, and how we decided to seize Montezuma.

WHEN our Captain and the Friar of the Order of Mercy saw that Montezuma was not willing that we should set up a cross on the Temple of Huichilobos nor build a church there, and because, ever since we entered this city of Mexico, when Mass was said, we had to place an altar on tables and then to dismantle it again, it was decided that we should ask Montezuma's stewards for masons so that we could make a church in our quarters.

The stewards said that they would tell Montezuma of our wishes, and our Captain also sent to tell him so by Doña Marina and Aguilar and his page Orteguilla, who

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712 1524, gives an approximate picture of the distribution of these edifices, or rather clusters of buildings.[31]

346 361 "They called these temples 'teocallis,' and we found all over "the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great "quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one cross-"bow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places "it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of "which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking "towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at "the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples, "they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and "three leagues distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness "from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and "the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to "the courts of the teocallis, . . . the devil did not content "himself with the aforesaid teocallis, but in each pueblo and in "each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were "other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes "three or four teocallis . . . . ."

712 421 The arms and stores contained in the "houses of darts," are often regarded as having belonged to the chiefs, or so-called "Kings" of the Mexican tribe, and the buildings themselves are mentioned as "royal storehouses," or "arsenals." It was not so, however. The arms and stores belonged to the people, and they were under the control of certain stewards ("calpixca") who distributed them to the military chiefs of the tribe, whenever any decision of the head-council, or any sudden emergency required it.[32]

temple, he thought thus to disarm the Mexicans, burning the arms (500 cartloads, says Tapia). Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VIII, cap. IX, p. 214 ("pareciendo á Hernando Cortés, "que era mas seguro consejo quitar las armas al enemigo pues la ocasion presente era "para ello muy aparejada"), together with that chief. But he only emptied one of these "houses of arms," and soon found out that the Mexicans had several others left.

[31] Fray Toribio, of Benavente (Kingdom of Leon in Spain), calling himself "Motolinia" (poor, unfortunate, unhappy), arrived at Mexico about the 17th of June, 1524. He was one of the first twelve Franciscan missionaries sent to New-Spain. The above quotation is from his "Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España," written about 1540. (Tratado I, cap. XII, pp. 63 and 65.) He died on the 9th of Aug., 1569.

[32] The "calpixqui" were civil functionaries, stewards, gatherers of tribute, to whose care the public stores were entrusted. The name is generally translated as "mayordomo," even by Molina (Vocab., II, p. 11). Its proper signification, however, would be derived from "tlacatl," man, and "pixqui," "what is gathered from the crops," therefore collectors or gatherers. Tezozomoc relates that before the foray against the tribes of Cuetlaxtlan: "Thus the calpixca or stewards of the tribes gave to their quar-"ters (stores and supplies of all kinds, too numerous to mention)." (Cap. XXXII, p.

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726 If the vanquished tribe found no such point of refuge, then the pursuit continued without relenting until the town or settlement itself was reached. Frequently both pursuers and pursued entered it almost at the same time. The torch was applied to the temple first, and an indiscriminate slaughter of non-combatants began.[169]

728 Nothing short of speedy submission to tribute could arrest this butchery. The vanquished, therefore, if not prepared to flee from their homes forever,[170] made signals of peace. A parley ensued, and to it succeeded a surrender on the part of the defeated tribe. Generally one year of tribute was paid in advance, and thus the Mexicans might return homewards loaded, both with the spoils acquired on the battlefield and with the first guarantee of future contributions from the vanquished tribe.[171]

726 It sometimes occurred, however, that the tribe attacked had provided its settlement with artificial defenses, and the Mexicans, victorious in the open field, found themselves in presence of the simple fortifications, which we shall hereafter describe, like palisades or even platforms of earth or stone surmounted by parapets. An attack upon these was only attempted if there appeared no doubt as to the result, in consequence of the superiority of the Mexicans, or of the great losses sustained by their defenders in the previous fights.[172] Then, but only then, ladders were con-

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[169] The "teo-calli" or temple being in the centre of the settlement, and also its highest, and therefore, according to Indian notions, its strongest edifice, the destruction thereof by fire was the signal of decisive victory of the assailants. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31). Durán (Cap. XV, p. 129).

[170] In cases where the pueblo of the enemy had been completely deserted, either through flight of its inhabitants, or through their extermination, as was the case with Alahuitzlán, these sections were repeopled by colonies from Nahuatl stock. Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXIV, pp. 125 and 126) and Durán (Cap. XLV, p. 264, etc.) both relate in detail how it occurred. This may account in some degree for the presence of Nahuatlac stock at a distance from the valley, and may yet throw some light even upon the singular colonization of the Peruvian "Mitimaes."

[171] This suing for peace, where the tribe was of foreign stock-language, took place, sometimes through interpreters, "nahuatlatu," sometimes merely by signs. The defeated generally fled to the top of a hill and from there beckoned to the pursuing Mexicans to stop the carnage, with humble and pitiful gestures. But the first parley did not always result in peace. The massacre of women and children recommenced often twice, ere the tribute offered by the vanquished satisfied the Mexicans. This tribute was exacted in proportion to the resistance offered and to the resources of the tribe. After peace was agreed upon the Mexicans still feasted from the food of those whom they had ruthlessly conquered. The prisoners, once taken, were never released nor exchanged. They had to carry the spoils and tribute to Mexico, but were generally well fed and cared for until the day when they were slaughtered to the idols.

[172] A good illustration is found in Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI), describing the foray against Tututepec and Quetzaltepec. But Durán is still more explicit on the same events. According to him (Cap. LVI, p. 347), after the unfortified pueblo of Tu-

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In this manner the favorite Mexican tactics of decoy and ambush were gradually overcome step by step, with little loss of life. Their treacherous sallies were not only not dreaded, they were even *desired*, since each of them procured a new basis to the assailants, who thus eventually reached, from three sides, the entrance to the pueblo. This pueblo lay before them seemingly open and unfortified. It was not a connected town, but a group of minor clusters, interspersed with gardens, through which water courses filtered in all directions. From large squares, massive truncated pyramids arose, crowned with houses of worship. A few wide thoroughfares led up to the main teo-calli, which the Spaniards regarded as the centre of the settlement. The Mexicans had again cut these thoroughfares, erecting bulwarks of stone and earth behind them. These defences could be carried by storm, and the heart of the pueblo reached. But once there, and far enough from their basis, the victorious Spaniards saw the flat housetops suddenly swarm with Indians, which showered all kinds of missiles upon them. Into their rear large bodies of warriors poured by alleys and cross-streets, occupying the very trenches they had just passed. Nothing remained for the assailants but to retreat upon the causeways; a movement not always easy, and certainly attended with loss. In order to avoid such dangerous ambushes, in which the temples served as decoys, and each communal dwelling as a hiding place for the enemy, Cortés was compelled to advance slowly and cautiously. No trench was left in the rear without being properly filled up, and in the end, seeing that the entire pueblo was but a complicated trap where every house was an eventual stronghold, he resorted much against his will, to the desperate expedient of levelling to the ground all constructions which might afford lurking places to the Mexicans.

Thus, step by step, the tribe of Mexico was driven into a narrower space. A constantly widening girdle of smouldering ruins closed upon them from all sides, and if, with the energy of despair, they dashed time and again upon this ghastly belt, they met at its inner limits their wary foes, which hurled them back, im-

thus Sandoval, who commanded, marched his corps to the north side. The division advancing from Cuyuacan soon seized Xoloc, where the dykes met, and cut off all communication with the south. The brigantines, after clearing the lake, and dislodging the Mexicans from some eminences arising above the water, where small "teo-calli" had been erected, kept up communication between the three divisions, and assisted them in their efforts against the trenches of the causeways.

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the existence of a privileged class of nobles.[102] Besides the other evidence which we have mentioned, as against the existence of nobility in ancient Mexico, we shall state here that the place called "calmecac" which is the name given to that supposed "school for the nobles," was in reality something quite different.

Fray Bernardino Sahagun, in his description of the central medicine-lodge or great temple of the Mexican tribe, says that in the house called calmecac those who devoted themselves to "medicine," or to the priesthood were trained for that office and lived in said house along with the medicine-men themselves.[103] There were several buildings or rooms bearing that name, all within the square occupied by what is commonly termed "the great temple of Mexico," and these were the places where the medicine-men and whoever was attached to them and to their offices, actually dwelt.[104] Consequently these places were also

pias"). *Zurita* (pp. 131-133) asserts that "certain fixed days, the children of land-tillers had permission to share their father's labor." That the "temple tracts" were probably identical with those worked by the young men is made evident by *Sahagun* (Cap. V, Lib. III, p. 269; cap. VIII, p. 275). *Zurita* (p. 131): "Ils étaient obligés de travailler aux terres affectées à ces établissements." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 188): "Tenian sus Tierras, y Heredados para su sustento (que debian de ser de las dedicadas al uso, y gasto de los Templos) en ellas sembraban, y cogian Pan para su sustento." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125). *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). The latter is very plain, connecting all the "schools" and their lands with the temples.

[102] *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 243 and 244). Nearly all the older writers call it a higher school, but I shall hereafter discuss their statements. See also Prescott ("*Mexico*," Book I, ch. III, p. 60).

[103] "*Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva España*," (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 271): "Los señores, ó principales, ó ancianos, ofrecian á sus hijos á la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, era su intencion que allí se criasen para que fuesen ministros de los ídolos." Id., (Cap. IV, p. 268): "y lo ofrecian á la casa de los ídolos que se llama Calmecac, para que fuese ministro de ellos, viniendo á edad perfecta." But especially (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 323): "si le prometian á la casa Calmecac, era para que hiciese penitencia, sirviese á los dioses, viviese en limpieza, en humildad y castidad, y para que del todo se guardase de los vicios carnales."

[104] The description furnished by *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, Appendix, "Relacion de los Edificios del gran Templo de México," pp. 197 to 211) mentions seventy-eight parts or edifices, among which were the following, with the name "Calmecac:"

The 12th edifice "Tlilancalmecac," a shrine to the goddess Civocoatl and inhabited by three priests, medicine-men (p. 201).

13th edifice "Mexicocalmecac," called by him "a monastery wherein the priests dwelt who served daily in the Cu of Tlaloc" (p. 201).

24th edifice, "Vitznaoac Calmecac," inhabited by the priests of the idol Vitznaoac, (p. 202)

27th edifice, "Tetlanmancalmecac," where the priests of the temple dedicated to the goddess Chantico lived, as in a "monastery," (p. 202).

35th edifice. "Tlamatzinco Calmecac," "a monastery," inhabited by the priests of the god Tlamatzincatl, (p. 204).

54th edifice, "Yopico Calmecac, "monastario á oratorio," (p. 207).

61st edifice, "Tzocinnolco-calmecac," "a monastery where dwelt priests of the god Xiuhtecutli," (p. 207).

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546 the abodes of such men as underwent the severe trials preliminary
793 to their investiture with the rank of chief ("tecuhtli.") The word "calmecac" is often interpreted as "dark house" but its etymology is probably quite different. In no case, however, was that building a school for a "privileged class of children.[105]

582 *The kin had the right to regulate and to control marriage.*[106] We have seen that the obligation to marry rested upon every member of a "calpulli." Where tribal society is still in its pure and original condition marriage in the same kin is absolutely prohibited. The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans were closely scrutinized by the Catholic church, and a rigid investigation by the early missionaries has proven that not only was marriage between close relations strictly prohibited, but it was also discouraged (if not forbidden) between members of the same kin.[107] Mr.

In all, seven "calmeca" within the enclosure surrounding the great "house of god" of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. *Torquemada* (Lib. VIII, cap. XI to XVI) also describes the various places, mentioning "Huitznahuaccalmecac." "Casa de recogimiento, y habitacion de los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este lugar" (p. 150). "Tlamatzinco calmecac," donde vivian y tenian su asistencia los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este dicho Templos" (p. 151). "Topico calmecac" "donde habitavan, y se criaban los muchachos" (p. 153). "Calpecac"—"donde se criavan los ninos" (p. 149). Besides these statements, the two authors just quoted allude to the Calmecac in the same manner at various places. *Sahagun* (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VII, and especially Cap. VIII, pp. 274–276). Already the title of this chapter is significant: "De las costumbres que se guardaban en la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, donde se criaban los Sacerdotes, y ministros del templo desde niños." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, pp. 468–471). *Johannes Eusebius Nieremberg* ("*Historia Naturæ*," Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, pp. 142–146). He copies Hernandez who, in turn, almost verbally agrees with Sahagun. *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302; Cap. LI, p. 537). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 439).

[105] *Molina* (II, p. 11). "Calmeca tlatolli," "palabras dichas en corredores largos" and "Calmelrth," "sala grande y prolongada, ó corredor de la casa." The word may be decomposed into "Calli"—house, and "mecayotl"—consanguine relationship, or "mecatl" a cord or tie. "House of Ties"?

[106] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 74).

171 [107] Already *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII) pictures vividly the difficulties encountered by the priests in regard to regular marriage. The first question to be determined was that of the legitimate spouse. This has already been investigated in a former note. The next question was that of the degrees of consanguinity, or affinity. It was rigidly inquired into whether perhaps, custom had sanctioned intermarriage of brothers and sisters. *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 439): "No casan con su madre ni con su hija, ni con su hermana; en lo demas poco parentesco guardan; aunque algunos se hallaron casados con sus propias hermanas;" thus admitting the fact that intermarriage of that kind existed. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 305) also concedes that such may have been the case, and infers that these marriages should be regarded as valid. The question of intermarriage between children of the same issue becomes important through the statements and discussion of *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. VII, p. 469) about the matrimonial customs of the Indians of *Vera-Paz*: "The Indians of Vera-Paz were compelled frequently, on account of their customs of relationship, to marry brothers with sisters for this reason: It was not customary for those of one clan, or tribe, to marry the women of the same tribe (pueblo), and thus they sought for them from others, because

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nite, owing, in part, to the treasure-seeking propensities of the Spanish immigrants as well as to the diligence of the clergy in obliterating all objects to which the aborigines attached superstitious notions.

For the same reason we refrain here from entering into a detailed account of the customs of worship. Still we feel obliged to state that the feature of "separate religious rites"[113] so characteristic of society based upon kin, is plainly visible among the ancient Mexicans. There are some very remarkable evidences of this, to which we must allude.

It has already been established at the outset, that each calpulli had "its particular god," which was worshipped, as a tutelar deity, within the territory of that calpulli. Consequently each kin had its particular medicine-lodge or temple.[114] Besides, the last one of the seventy-eight places into which Father Sahagun subdivides the great central "teo-calli" of the tribe, is described by him as follows:

"The seventy-eighth edifice was named *calpulli*, these were small buildings enclosing the inside of the square, these little houses they called *calpulli*, and there the principals and officials of the republic gathered, to do penance for four days preceding each festival occurring at twenty days interval. Their vigils thus lasted four days, during which time some of them ate at midnight and others at noon."[115]

This statement, which is confirmed (according to the learned Jesuit John Eusebius Nieremberg)[116] by the celebrated physician and naturalist Francisco Hernandez, is followed by another one, not less important, also of Sahagun:

"They offered up many things in the houses which they called "calpulli," which were like churches of the quarters, where those of the same gathered, as well for to sacrifice, as for other ceremonies they were wont to perform."[117]

Thus the right of the kin to "separate worship" appears not

[113] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 71).

[114] Besides the positive assertions of *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31): "se ponian en una de las casas de oracion que tenian en los barrios que ellos llamaban calpulli, que quiere decir iglesia del barrio ó parroquia" and (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, etc.), we have also the testimony of *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 42 and 43, and Cap. IX, pp. 79 and 86), and *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302).

[115] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211).

[116] "*Historia naturæ*," (Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, p. 146).

[117] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. See note 114).

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618 346 only established within that kin's territory, but it is also recognized even at the central medicine-lodge of the tribe.

727 A further evidence of it is found in the manner of distribution of the captives, upon the return of a successful war-party. It is known that prisoners were always offered up to the idols. Such a person, therefore, as soon as secured, became an object of "medicine;" he was so to say a sacred object. Well treated as long as he was not needed for the slaughter-block, nothing could in the end save him from sacrifice. But this sacrifice itself was not made in behalf of his captor, but on behalf and for the *kin* to whom the captor belonged. Therefore upon arrival at the pueblo, the prisoners of war were turned over to the respective calpulli as their share thus furnishing another illustration of "Separate Rites of Worship" of the kins composing the ancient Mexicans.[118]

000 Having already discussed, in a former paper, the *tenure of Lands and customs of Inheritance*[119] we now pass on to one of the most essential features of tribal society, and one which involves some of the vital points of organization and customs.

618 681 *The kin was obligated to protect and defend the persons and property of its members, and to resent and punish any injury done to them, as if it were a crime committed against the kin itself.*[120]

The impression justly prevails, that the so-called "penal code" of the Mexicans was simple but severe, death being, in most instances, the punishment of offenders. This resulted, in a great measure, from the fact that any offence against an individual

[118] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII. p. 128), rather contradicts himself when he says first: that the captive belonged to his captor, but at the same time, that this captor was even killed if he *gave* away his prisoner to another man. Second: that each one had to watch his own prisoners, and at the same time they were guarded in common, and at the risk of the "barrio" or kin, which was responsible for their safe keeping. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 540) copies this almost literally. Much more positive and clear is *Durán* (Cap. XIX. pp. 173 and 175): "mandó Tlacaellel repartir los cautivos, porque eran muchos, por todos los barrios y que cada barrio se encargase de guardar y sustentar tantos . . . . . Los mandones de los barrios repartieron los presos á cada barrio, á como les cania." (Cap. XXI, p. 186): "Montezuma los mandaua vestir y aderezar y llamauava á los Calpixques, que son los mandoncillos de los barrios, y entregauanlas, para que tuviesen cuidado dellos, diciendo que eran la merced del sol, Señor de la tierra, que los daua para el sacrificio." (Id., cap. XXII, p. 192. Cap. XXVIII, p. 237): "luego fueron repartidos entre los barrios y encomendados á los mandoncillos." (Cap. XLII, p. 343, etc.). *Tezozomoc* ("*Cronica*," cap. XXIX, p. 45; XXXII, p. 51; XXXIII, p. 53; XXXVIII, p. 61; XLIX, p. 99, etc.), confirms Durán as might be expected.

[119] "*Tenure of Lands and Customs of Inheritance*," 11th *Report of Peabody Museum*, 1878.

[120] "*Ancient Society*," (pp. 76 and 77). Compare *H. Luden* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," pp. 501 and 502), among the ancient Germans.